

The
American Historical Review

WAR AND HISTORY¹

ONE hundred and twenty years ago the National Institute of France set as a subject for a prize essay: "To examine the influence of the Crusades upon the civil liberty of the peoples of Europe, upon their civilization and upon the progress of knowledge, commerce and industry."

This marked a change in the conception of the Crusades. In the preceding century the prevailing point of view had been expressed by Voltaire: "Thus the only fruit of the Christians in their barbarous crusades was the extermination of other Christians."

The action of the Institute led to the writing of several essays; in particular two, which shared the prize and are well worth reading at the present day.² Both of these treated briefly of the influence of the Crusades on history, a subject which has been almost entirely neglected in the more recent discussions of the results of the Crusades.

What influence upon history and historiography was exerted by this great series of wars? It was threefold. First, the Crusades broadened the subject-matter. In the centuries preceding the First Crusade historical writing had been confined to annals, chronicles, and biographies; statements of facts, accounts of prodigies or miracles, eulogies of saints or rulers. The writers were usually so concerned with strictly local interests that it is often possible to detect the name, or at least the habitat, of an anonymous author by the events which he recorded, or left unrecorded, because his outlook was so closely limited to his own monastery or its immediate neighborhood.

¹ Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at Rochester, December 28, 1926.

² A. H. L. Heeren, *Versuch einer Entwicklung der Folgen der Kreuzzüge für Europa* (Göttingen, 1808); Choiseul-Daillecourt, *De l'Influence des Croisades sur l'État des Peuples de l'Europe* (Paris, 1809).

Just before the First Crusade there was some broadening of outlook and interests due to the struggle over lay-investiture and of the wars of conquest by restless Normans. The latter had only a slight effect, introducing new geographical names and some interest in the new lands, the scenes of conquest. The struggle over lay-investiture led to an eager, but not very fruitful, study of history for precedents by which either papal or imperial partizans might bolster up their claims to hegemony of papacy or empire. The very barrenness of their efforts shows how little they could know of history.

The Crusades brought a great change, especially in France. As Molinier says:³ "It is perhaps in historiography that the results of this great movement were the most marked; up to that time, for more than a century, each section of the former kingdom of Charles the Bald had lived in isolation, thrown back upon itself as it were, confined by a narrow horizon. Now the barriers fall and Europe begins to be self-conscious; it has common interests and common enemies, and above the petty quarrels of its princes soars a higher ideal, that of the Christian community in strife with Islam." "By the contact with the Orient, the historical horizon of the Western writers was marvellously extended, the impulse was given and the time was ripe in France for the composition of universal chronicles." New countries and new peoples came within the ken of history. The abbot Guibert, in his history of the First Crusade, felt it necessary to give an account of the prophet Mohammed and the religion of Islam. Other writers describe the glory and greatness of Constantinople, the fortifications of Antioch, the characteristics and antecedents of the Greeks, or Turks, or Arabs.

The second influence of the Crusades was the popularization of history. Men were impressed with the importance of the events in which they or their neighbors were participating. Robert the Monk wrote, in the preface to his history of the First Crusade: "If we except the salutary mystery of the crucifixion, what has happened since the creation of the world that is more marvellous than this which has been done in modern times, on this expedition of our men to Jerusalem? The more studiously anyone directs his attention to this subject, the greater will be his stupefaction."

There were few parts of Western Europe which were not in some way brought into contact with one or more of the first three Crusades. The number of those who went on the First Crusade has been grossly

³ A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France* (Paris, 1904), vol. V., pp. xciii, xcvi.

exaggerated, both by contemporary writers and modern historians, but it was very great in comparison with the population at that time. The lines of march of the various contingents took them through many parts of Europe and those who stayed at home frequently had opportunity to see or hear of the expeditions. The participation of the kings of France and of Germany in the second great Crusade occasioned interest in the movement throughout their dominions. The necessity of paying the ransom of Richard the Lion-Hearted, when on his return from the Third Crusade he was held as a prisoner by the Emperor Henry VI., brought the matter home to everyone in England. We are told that every man, woman, and child in his kingdom had to contribute to raise the enormous sum of £100,000 which the Emperor demanded. Also it must not be forgotten that other monarchs went on the Third Crusade, thus spreading interest in the movement throughout their lands. When we recall the large number of other expeditions *Outre Mer* and their continuance for nearly two centuries, we can realize the interest aroused in the West concerning these new lands and their inhabitants.

To satisfy this interest and the natural curiosity of the people histories were written and songs were sung. The best of the sources from a modern historian's standpoint, the so-called *Gesta Francorum*, written by an anonymous layman, was considered unsatisfactory by his contemporaries. They criticized it because it was a bare, unadorned narration of facts and because it did not tell of the beginnings at the Council of Clermont. Using the *Gesta* as a basis, writers attempted to popularize the history by writing it in a more literary form, by arranging the facts in a logical order, by demonstrating the causes and results of these facts. Molinier says: "French historiography was profoundly transformed and the true meaning of history began to emerge." But these works were written in Latin, the language of the learned, and others had to get their information from the songs or oral accounts. To reach a wider audience, and sometimes for purposes of propaganda, some writers used the vernacular, the language of the people.

A change is to be noted in the kind of men who wrote the histories. In contrast with the humble, often anonymous, monks by whom the earlier chronicles had been written, clerical leaders, abbot and archbishop, took up their pens to write the account in a more literary form. Men of action recounted the deeds in which they had had a part. As examples may be cited: William, archbishop of Tyre and chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; Walter, chancellor of the principality of Antioch; Jacques de Vitry, bishop of

Acre and cardinal; Ville-Hardouin, one of the influential leaders of the Fourth Crusade; Joinville, the friend of St. Louis. It may be noted that the last two, and other writers as well, were not members of the clergy; history was becoming laicized.

Among the Arabs the Crusades had a similar influence on history and historiography. For a long time before the Crusades little or no attention had been given by Moslems to the study or writing of history. The glorious events under Nūr-ad-Dīn and Saladin awakened the enthusiasm of the followers of the prophet. History became popular and its scope was broadened. The authors were usually men of high rank who had participated in some of the events which they described. Ibn al-Athīr was the son of an emir and served in the wars under Saladin; his position and prestige gave him access to the documents of the rulers. Imād ad-Dīn was secretary of state under Nūr ad-Dīn. Bahā ad-Dīn was *cadi* at Jerusalem and at Aleppo and was sent on diplomatic missions. Kamāl ad-Dīn was a vizier. Abū-l-Fidā was a kinsman of Saladin and sultan of Hamah.

Have other wars, in later ages, had a similar influence? If so, what importance does this fact have for the present day? Let us first determine the facts.

After the Crusades ceased to arouse popular enthusiasm the character of historical writing changed. Western Europe was no longer conscious of having common interests and a common enemy. Local interests were dominant and writing local chronicles again became the prevailing fashion. In France historiography often was merely a tool of propaganda. This can be attributed, in part, to the Hundred Years' War when local feeling was strong and partizan writers used history to justify the alliances or defections of their lords.

The humanistic movement in its earlier period made little change in this respect; in fact, it emphasized the tendency to stress the history of a single locality and to glorify the policy of a ruler. To find a new impulse in history, a return to a larger canvas, we must go to Florence at the beginning of the sixteenth century. For, to restore history to a prominent position, to free it from its parochial tendencies, came after a long interval the invasion of Italy by the French king in 1494.

Florence went through a critical period, suffering terribly from the invasion and from the ensuing strife between the French and Spanish kings. Together with the other city states of Central Italy it lost its independent position in European affairs. It changed

suddenly from the rule of the Medici to a republic, and it was necessary to establish a new constitution. In this respect its position was not unlike that of the American colonies after the Revolutionary War. History was studied for instruction in politics. Historians eagerly scanned all past history to which they had access. Every political event of the past or present was analyzed and its consequences examined because they hoped to find material for the formation of their constitution. But in their study of universal history they paid heed only to wars and politics, there was no interest in the history of culture. In order to win a larger audience they wrote in the vernacular. The historians were usually men of affairs who had interests at stake. Machiavelli and Guicciardini are only the most striking examples among a number who had held high office in the state. It is interesting to note, that in Florence "this efflorescence of historical writing lasted only as long as the struggle for the constitution lasted".

In this case a war had the same three effects that the Crusades had had: it caused history to broaden its horizon; it created a greater popular interest, and history was more widely read, because written in the vernacular; lastly, authors were statesmen who had themselves participated in the events.

Except in Florence the men of the early sixteenth century did not produce notable histories. There was great activity in historical work but mainly as a tool for propaganda, and the writings were not of a character to arouse popular interest. Renan's statement that "historical criticism is a daughter of Protestantism" has often been quoted and is partially true. But only partially true. Excellent beginnings in historical criticism had been made in the preceding period; for example, by Laurentius Valla, and by many opponents of the existing order in Church or State. But historical criticism was now used more extensively as a weapon to attack an adversary. It was very much like the search for historical precedents during the Investiture Struggle in order to prove that the other party was wrong. The great advance which history had made in the course of the centuries is clearly evident when the productions of the two periods are contrasted. The outstanding examples in the sixteenth century are the *Magdeburg Centuries* and the *Annals* of Baronius. A group of Protestant scholars in their zeal to prove that the Roman Catholic Church had been led astray by Anti-Christ and had become more and more corrupt throughout the ages, compiled and published at Magdeburg, in 13 folio volumes, a history of the Church from its origin till the close of the thirteenth century. To meet this

attack Cardinal Baronius published his *Annales Ecclesiastici* to 1198, in 12 folio volumes. Neither of these productions was intended for popular reading. At first the cardinal's work, filled with documents, drawn from the Vatican archives, seemed a crushing refutation of the *Centuries*. But Protestant scholars rushed to the fray; Casaubon published 12 folio volumes in refutation of the *Annals*; Holstenius is said to have detected more than eight thousand misstatements of fact in the cardinal's volumes. This strife determined the main line of historical work during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Scholars occupied themselves in controversy over religious history or dogma, in seeking for and publishing new documents, or in critical studies of the texts; sometimes in forging documents which were useful for their cause. They did not confine themselves to ecclesiastical sources, but also collected and edited medieval material on the history of their native lands. In Italy and France, in England and Germany, the productive work was mainly in "catalogs of writers, publication of sources, collections of sources".

Yet the wars of religion did have an influence on history, as the Crusades did. The scope of history was broadened. While most of the works produced could not appeal to popular interest, and most of the men of affairs who participated in the movement did so as collectors or editors or critics, there were notable exceptions, especially in the seventeenth century. Bacon, Raleigh, Clarendon, de Thou, d'Aubigné, Grotius, Sarpi, and others, all of them men of affairs, produced valuable histories. Sarpi wrote the history of the Council of Trent, a polemical work. Bacon, de Thou, d'Aubigné, Grotius, and Clarendon wrote histories of their own times; Raleigh, during his imprisonment in the Tower, experimented in chemistry and wrote part of a history of the world, to while away the time. All of these authors were widely read and Clarendon, in particular, exerted a great influence on historical writing in England. The fact that the period of the wars of religion was not more productive of great historians can be attributed in part to the dominant interest in controversy over theological history and dogma, in part to the zest for collecting and criticizing documents.

The French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon had a profound effect upon history. In the early period, when for the young and enthusiastic it was bliss to be alive, privileges both feudal and ecclesiastical were abolished; the monarchy in France was overthrown; new constitutions were made; the rights of man were proclaimed; men of low degree rose to positions of power; but it is not necessary in this audience to catalogue the work of the Revolution. In the

ensuing period the inevitable reaction set in and much that had been striven for in the Revolution seemed to be lost. But new and powerful factors combined to kindle the imagination of the people; in France, the worship of Napoleon, the possibility of securing a marshal's baton by bravery, the ideal of glory, the pride in a victorious France against the world. In the other countries there was the seething of revolutionary ideas; there was the unwilling admiration and popular dread of the Emperor; Bonaparte, or "Boney", became a bogey in England to terrify the children, as Richard the Lion-Hearted had been in Palestine six hundred years before. People became keenly interested in other lands and their history. The formation of new constitutions and the rise to power of hitherto obscure individuals diverted attention from monarchs and nobles to the men of the third estate; the scope of history was broadened.

The great historians came only in the next generation and they were not, as a rule, men who had participated in the events; in fact, most of them were in their infancy during the period of the Revolution. They were not confined to any one country: Guizot, Ranke, Thiers, Macaulay, Bancroft, Grote, Prescott, Carlyle, Parkman, Motley, to name only a few, of especial interest to us. Some of them were men of affairs and held public office; but the office was sometimes attained because of prestige as an author. The ability which had made a man pre-eminent in his historical work marked him as worthy to represent his country in an administrative position or as a minister at a foreign court.

Evidently all wars do not create an interest in history or produce great historians. If they did Europe would have had a constant succession of great historians during the last four hundred years. It is not sufficient to beg the question by saying that only the great wars cause changes in historiography. Dynastic wars did not; nor did civil wars if we can judge from the Civil War in England or in our own country. The former did incite Clarendon and produce a great interest in history as is shown by the mass of pamphlets; and the latter is true of our own Civil War, witness the wealth of articles on history in the popular periodicals of the 'eighties. If an analysis is made of the wars which seem to have influenced historiography, certain facts emerge. They were wars which excited the popular imagination; wars in which men were conscious of common interests; wars which were due to or caused a change in the social polity; wars by which men's interests were broadened or directed into new channels. This is emphatically true of the Crusades and of the French Revolution and may explain their great influence on historiography.

New ideas seem to have been the most important factor. Great wars seem to have accelerated the change in ideas by the horror which they aroused, compelling men to evaluate their opinions and to discard those which were in part, at least, a cause of war; by producing changes in government or administration which required study and thought to make them effective.

The nationalism which characterized the nineteenth century is frequently explained as a result of the French Revolution. It is not necessary here to challenge this generalization. At all events the concept of nationality was given a great impetus by the Revolution and developed rapidly after it. The revolutionary ideas had been eagerly accepted in many parts of Germany and it might be argued that the German nation was a product of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. When the editors began their work on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* they chose as their motto *Sanctus amor patriae dat animum*, and this sentence is the key-note to much of the historical writing of the nineteenth century.

It would be inaccurate to credit all the advance made in historical work to the Revolution. The ground had already been prepared. In the eighteenth century Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others had influenced the thought of the age; Robertson, Hume, and Gibbon had produced their great works; Adam Smith had written the *Wealth of Nations*. It would carry us too far afield to catalogue other products of the eighteenth century which were influential in shaping the historical thought of the following age. Some of the characteristics on which the last century prided itself were already in evidence in the preceding: the attempt to secularize history; the attention to the third estate; the stress upon the national character and the spirit of the age as explanations of historical phenomena. To consider all the advance as the result of the French Revolution would be to fall into the error, already discarded by some writers in the eighteenth century, of attributing changes in human history to a succession of catastrophes.

Changes in points of view which have not caused or been accompanied by great wars have often influenced history. The period of the *Aufklärung* has just been mentioned. The seething discontent and the changes which occurred in the 'thirties and 'forties of the last century are reflected later in the significant stress upon the people, shown by such titles as *The History of the English People*, *The History of the People of the United States*.

With these facts as a basis what can be said about the probable influence of the Great War? Will it produce great changes in his-

tory and historiography? Will the next generation be marked by great men who will write history because they realize its importance in molding the minds and conduct of their fellow-citizens?

No historian can prophesy what the future holds in store. He may argue from past analogies and traits already discernible in the present that certain results are probable. There is one consoling thought about any attempt at prophecy—only posterity can prove the prediction false.

Some influences of the Great War are readily apparent. Along certain lines it has given a new impetus to forces already at work; *e.g.*, in actually enlarging the domains of history. Theoretically, before the war, history embraced all that men had done or thought or striven for since man's first appearance on this earth. James Harvey Robinson in his *New History* had argued that the historian must assimilate the results obtained by the natural sciences and give a new orientation to his subject. "The New History" became a name to conjure with and was eagerly adopted by a host of imitators. The attempts at an economic, or a geographic, or some other interpretation of history led many into new fields from which they sometimes garnered a rich harvest. Freeman's dictum that "History is past politics" was almost universally condemned as inadequate; and, as Webster has remarked, as a result the field of foreign politics was generally neglected so that in 1914, in spite of "the feverish haste" with which scholars attempted "to repair the omissions of past years, men of action were left almost entirely to the tender mercies of the journalist and the sciolist". Many here present will recall the "feverish haste" with which scholars in this country were asked to supply data for the Peace Conference. The studies made for Versailles called attention to many neglected fields. The rise of racial consciousness among the Arabs and the expulsion of the Turkish sultan has caused a re-examination of Moslem history and the correction of some errors, such as those concerning the position of the caliph. The rapidly increasing opposition in Asia to Western civilization, the Russian Revolution, the attempt to control immigration into this country, have given incentive to study of new fields. Even our text-books are showing the result of the broadening of the horizon of history.

The Great War has made history a matter of greater interest to the reading public. The popularity of H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* and of Van Loon's writings is a striking illustration. I may be permitted to add that the hearty editorial support in our leading newspapers of our campaign for the endowment of this Association

has been a great encouragement to us. The amount of space which they have given to our publicity matter is a proof not only of the editors' interest in history but also of their belief that the public has a similar interest. Publishers are including more histories in their lists. The situation to-day is different from that described in the recently published report on the *Writing of History* by the committee headed by Jusserand. The periodicals will eventually fall into line and will contain articles on history as they did for the generation following the Civil War. To increase this present interest it is absolutely essential, as the report urges, that histories should be better written and presented in a more literary form. It is necessary also to keep in mind the larger audience which is now interested, as Wells and Van Loon did. While the authors of the report are right in their general strictures on the style which has prevailed, there have been exceptions, for instance in the case of their own writings, which have not been dry as dust. The "spade-work" which has characterized the scholarship of the last two generations is not incompatible of combination with excellent literary expression and a presentation which will command popular interest. The learned work of Henry C. Lea on the *Inquisition* was translated into French, sold in a popular form, and proved a valuable political weapon in the struggle over the law for the separation of Church and State. A recent Scottish review of Cheyney's two volumes on the last years of Elizabeth, a product of true "spade-work", gives them high praise for their literary quality, "although", to quote the reviewer, "they are based on original sources and conceived in a critical spirit".

Because of these tendencies I think that we can predict that there will be a still greater broadening of the scope of history and a greater interest in it on the part of the public. The most interesting query is, will the next generation see a succession of great historians, and if such there be is it possible to predict how they will view history and undertake their task? Of course the first part of the question can not be answered except as a matter of faith. We may note, however, to quote Jameson, that "any study of the history of historical writing makes clear the fact that each great crisis in human affairs has evoked in the next generation a striking access of interest in human history and a crop of great historians to meet the need",⁴ and living under the shadow of the recent war, we may believe that it was a "great crisis". It has already evoked "a striking access of interest in human history", and we may hope that the great historians will not be lacking.

⁴ J. F. Jameson, *The American Historian's Raw Materials* (Ann Arbor, 1923).

Anyone who attempts now to predict how the great historian will undertake his task will proceed, as authors of Utopias have always done, by setting forth what he considers desirable. His imagination would be handicapped because he is of this generation and has grown up amid the ideas and prejudices of the pre-war period, from which the historian, born during or after the war, will be partially emancipated. I shall not yield to the temptation of depicting an historical Utopia, which would have no greater reality than all the other Utopias. From an analysis of the present tendencies, however, it may be possible to make tentative statements as to some of the interests of the future historians. And it may be of practical utility to do so, in order that we may direct our energies, in part, to preparing the way for them.

Undoubtedly some, at least, will take a broad view and will be interested in social history in its broadest aspects. They will realize that it is as complex as life itself; that man does not live by bread alone; that he is swayed sometimes by one motive, sometimes by another, and that consequently any one method of interpreting history leads only to partial truth. They will give their assent to Sombart's statement that the economic interpretation of history is no more true and no more false than any other single interpretation of history, and they will seek to profit by all the results obtained by the various methods of interpreting history.

Because of this attitude the future historian will use a wider range of sources of all kinds and will control them more carefully, as the "spade-work" improves in quality. In particular he will have no reverence for the diplomatic documents as something sacrosanct; the memoirs and revelations which are now appearing in such numbers will help him to evaluate their worth. He will keep in the background of his mind the scepticism caused by Bismarck's statement, "As for using", to quote him, "the diplomatic reports, some day, as material for history, nothing of any value will be found in them". "Even the dispatches which do contain information are scarcely intelligible to those who do not know the people and their relations to each other." "The most important points, however, are always dealt with in private letters and confidential communications, also verbal ones, and these are not included in the archives." Bismarck was not wholly right, as Webster has pointed out.⁵ But it is necessary to subject each document to a very rigid study, before using it. And this is one of the fields in which the present generation

⁵ C. K. Webster, "The Study of British Foreign Policy", in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 730.

can do useful "spade-work" in preparing the way. The study of modern documents demands a technic more rigid even than medieval diplomatics. The usages of each foreign office must be studied. These change, sometimes radically, under different administrations, as anyone at all familiar with our own Department of State is aware. The methods of the English Foreign Office differ from those of our Department, as is shown by Lord Gréy in his chapter on the Foreign Office in his recent book *Twenty-five Years*. Until the usages in each foreign office are known, the documents issued by it can not be studied without grave danger of error. The points of view and opinions of the foreign secretaries and of the ambassadors and of responsible subordinates must be ascertained. In handling many other classes of sources an equally exacting technic will be necessary.

Some of the future historians will probably make more use of co-operative work, because of their realization of the complexity of their task. The need of such organization in historical work is apparent, and the present generation is experimenting. We have our great co-operative undertakings such as the *Dictionary of American Biography*, the *Guide to Historical Literature*, the new *Ducange*. Everyone recognizes the necessity of co-operation in such tasks. In historiography too we have co-operative works, such as the *Cambridge Modern*, *Cambridge Medieval*, and *Cambridge Ancient History*. But in these each author writes his chapter, or chapters, independently, and the editors are not successful in fusing the material into an organic whole; in fact, they make little attempt to do so, allowing each author to express his own views and to follow his own methods of treating the subject; hence there are repetitions and contradictions. I am not decrying the usefulness of these works nor regretting that the authors are allowed such liberty. But I think you will all agree that the finished product is not especially attractive to anyone except a student, and he reads to obtain guidance or to criticize. A volume in one of these series is not enjoyed as a literary masterpiece or taken to while away a week-end.

There is much fruitful co-operation between professors and their students who prepare material for them and often illuminate a subject by discussion in seminar exercises. Every good teacher is indebted to his students for aid and inspiration. This approximates, I think, more nearly the method which the future historian will follow. He will realize the need of co-operative work, that the field is too extensive to be intensively cultivated by one man.

If he shall have been a statesman, or man of affairs, before taking to historical writing, he will have been accustomed to having

material prepared for him and to discussing the various aspects of each subject with the assistants specially versed in the matter. This will seem to him the natural method of procedure and he will utilize the specialized knowledge of all the trained men he can secure. There will be ample need of "spade-work". Each member of the group will have responsibilities and should have credit for his share in the finished product. But the leader, after full discussion, will, by his ability, fuse the mass together and produce an organic whole, in good literary form. In this way, I think, some great histories will be written.

Some of the historians will probably try to find and state historical laws and draw lessons from history for the guidance of their fellow-men. A tendency in this direction is already apparent. Langlois and Seignobos, nearly thirty years ago, laid stress upon the necessity of constructing formulas in history. The question whether it is possible to find historical laws was brilliantly discussed by Cheyney in his presidential address three years ago. There can be little doubt that this subject will command more attention in the future.

It is frequently asserted that the social sciences are lagging behind. The progress of the natural sciences has increased our national wealth, has prolonged human life, and has made our civilization ever more complex. Man has not learned from the social sciences how to organize government or administration to handle this complexity, so as to make life better worth living. To do this requires education and research in which history as the necessary foundation, in part, of all the other social sciences ought to take the leadership. This is being more fully recognized and is, in part, the cause of the greater interest in history. If any laws of history can be ascertained, it will be a great step forward in making the social sciences more useful for guidance. This fact will be a stimulus to historians in seeking to find historical laws.

It may be interesting to note, in conclusion, that while historiography before the war had a tendency to confine its attention mainly to the description of the normal life of a nation and to the study of its institutions and customs, neglecting, as far as possible, the portrayal of wars, the Great War has made history more popular and may lead to its wider usefulness.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY BEFORE CAESAR

As archaeological discoveries at Rome are confirming much of the tradition which Mommsen and his successors rejected it is becoming necessary for us to revise our conception of the methods of the early Roman historians. We now know that in its essentials the traditional picture of a large and prosperous Rome at the end of the regal period is correct. We know something of its extensive walls, of its imposing temples, and of its far-reaching commerce. We are gaining no little respect for Livy's conception of a strong Sabine element in Rome, of the participation of Latins and Etruscans in the revolutionary wars that ended the regal period, and of a temporary weakening of Rome in the early decades of the Republic, when the Latins gained their independent status and the Sabellic tribes threatened the existence of the Latin League. If Mommsen were writing to-day he would certainly accept a large part of the early political history as he himself in his *Staatsrecht* rehabilitated much of the constitutional history which he had previously excluded from his volumes. I do not mean that we are ever going to reinstate the embroidery of fictitious battle-scenes and long senatorial debates woven from family legends into Livy's first decade. Livy himself warns the reader adequately when he explains why he has freely included legend in the first part of his work. But with the archaeological evidence before us, it is now possible to estimate what knowledge of the earlier period was available to the annalists and to judge from this what use they made of their knowledge. We know, for example, that they had access to large collections of laws, *senatus consulta*, treaties, and priestly annals, and that they drew the correct inferences from the extensive remains of the city about them, a city which did not greatly change its ancient aspect until after the Second Punic War. The fact that in the attempt to synchronize the consular list with temple records they fell into a slight discrepancy of a few years in the chronology of the early period does not materially affect its value.

Various recent books¹ on historiography make little or no reference to these revisions of our knowledge. They are being written as though nothing had been discovered since Wachsmuth and the

¹ E.g., Rosenberg, *Einleitung und Quellenkunde* (Berlin, 1921); and J. T. Shotwell, *Introduction to the History of History* (New York, 1922).

early vagaries of Païs. What is equally disturbing, they continue to assume that Roman senators like Fabius and Cato, who constantly had to consult Rome's laws and treaties in order to direct senatorial debate on intricate matters of international relations, immediately forgot the value of facts when they undertook to write history. It is no longer justifiable, however, to group all Roman annalists together in one category. If the early annals of Rome tell practically the same story as the remains there must have been a great difference between the statesmen who first recorded the facts and the romancers of Sulla's day who wrote popular books for the purpose of entertainment.

We may classify the historical writers² of the republic into three distinct groups with reference to their methods and their employment of their sources. In the century before Tiberius Gracchus we know of some eight statesmen who told the story of Rome from the beginning up to their own day. These are Fabius Pictor, senator and pontifex, who had served in the army in 225 B. C., L. Cincius Alimentus, a praetor and general in the Hannibalic War, C. Acilius, a senator, Postumius Albinus, a consul, Cato, consul and censor, Cassius Hemina, Fabius Servilianus, consul and commentator on pontifical law, Calpurnius Piso, consul, censor, and reformer of the courts, and Sempronius Tuditanus, a jurist, who while consul conquered Histria. They all wrote at a time when there were few "general readers", and their works were intended for the information of magistrates, senators, jurists, and a small circle of readers closely connected with the ruling classes. These men were all thoroughly acquainted with Rome's laws and treaties.

After the Gracchan revolution we find a decided change in the tone and purpose of history. The democratic upheaval had enlarged the circle of readers by bringing large masses into the political arena, and had created a demand for histories that were more easy to read and more sympathetic toward the aspirations of the common people. In addition, a diffusion of the knowledge of Greek, which made available the colorful histories that Alexandrian culture had produced, and which fostered a taste for a more florid style in written and spoken Latin, tended to turn readers away from the dry factitive annals of the preceding century and to encourage professional writers to satisfy the new taste. The first story-teller to meet the new demand was Gellius of the Gracchan age, who not only wrote in a popular style but was the first to fill in the

² The fragments are edited by Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta* (Berlin, 1883).

meagre outline of early Republican history with an abundance of interesting legends. The period that had been covered in seven rolls by the sober Piso required ninety-seven in the library that Gellius produced.

This feat marks an epoch in Roman historiography. Where Gellius found all his material we are not told, but we may surmise with some degree of accuracy. He seems not to have added much to the legends of the regal period, for even the earlier annalists had, with due warning to the reader, repeated the household tales of that epoch. Most of the padding appears in the section devoted to the first two centuries of the Republic. In this portion the older statesmen-historians had shown their restraint by excluding all oral tradition and confining themselves to the bare statements found in the priestly annals and in the archives. Piso, for instance, gave only two books to the two hundred years from 500 to 300 B. C., an average of about twelve lines per year. He apparently adhered closely to archival material. Gellius devoted twenty books to this period. To do so he must have gathered up every family legend available for the period before the Third Samnite War. After him Sempronius Asellio and Claudius Quadrigarius, although both were popularizers, nevertheless reverted to a conservative treatment of the semi-historical period, but Valerius Antias of the Sullan age, the most successful of the romancing historians, followed the dangerous example of Gellius. Thereafter it was quite impossible to satisfy the general taste in history without including the legendary stories of the middle period. It was this group, writing for a large semi-educated public, and providing patriotic, dramatic, and attractive sets—in which vivid pen-pictures served the purpose that colored illustrations might to-day—that destroyed the taste for the sober old annals.

During the same period and catering to the same taste, many histories of special periods and propagandizing biographies appeared. Coelius, a professional writer, produced a history of the Second Punic War in which dramatic composition and stylistic values counted for more than reliability. He wrote not for the information of statesmen but rather for the delectation of the young and the leisured dilettanti. Some of the autobiographies and histories of the time were produced by important statesmen, but their value was in many cases marred by a willingness to cater to the lower public standards of the day and by a desire to excuse their political behavior at a time when factional strife had raised dangerous animosities. Fannius, indeed, seems to have written with some sobriety regarding

his part in the Gracchan struggle, but Aemilius Scaurus, Sulla, Marius, and Catulus pleaded their cases with more or less open effrontery. Of similar tendency, though more restrained, were men like Licinius Macer, Cornelius Sisenna, and Sallust, who, having engaged in the factional struggles of their day, wrote history with a political bias and furthermore heeded the new demand for stylistic attractiveness to the extent of disregarding now and then the requirements of accuracy.

The third group of writers, the professional researchers, appears during the Ciceronian period. As the first extension of a superficial culture had created a demand for easy and interesting general histories, so the spread of a more thorough education produced a class of readers who became suspicious of popular accounts and demanded solidier works on special topics. Furthermore the increasing number of writers desired reference books that presented details in more compendious and reliable form than did the voluminous histories of the Sullan age. It was in response to such demands that dry antiquarians now wrote their crabbed commentaries and encyclopaedias. Varro, for instance, compiled reference books on Roman law, on religious institutions, on the Roman tribes, and on geography. The great jurist Sulpicius wrote commentaries on the Twelve Tables and a history of the praetorian edicts. Tubero in his history submitted the careless remarks of Licinius Macer to sharp criticism, and even Cicero so far entered the field of the specialist as to write a history of Roman oratory, in the preparation of which he carried out extensive investigations. Such special studies naturally did not supplant the popular accounts—in fact a score of less serious writers were busy at the same time—but their influence upon historiography was abiding. Livy, for example, not only used their digests of material but learned from them to be skeptical of the Sullan romancers and to respect the data provided by the early annalists whose books were no longer in general circulation. Hence, while endeavoring to create a great work of art that might supplant the most fascinating of his predecessors, he also attained to a higher standard of accuracy than his rivals.

In this brief sketch of Republican historiography it becomes apparent that it is in the second period, the time of popularization and of Hellenistic influence, that the historical conscience weakened. We must now revert to the earlier annalists to see how they worked, and to understand how it was that they succeeded in preserving the essential basis of facts that modern discoveries are verifying. The field covered by these annalists may be divided into three parts:

(a) the regal period (largely legendary); (b) the first two centuries of the Republic (500–300 B. C.), for which some archival materials existed; and (c) the period after 300 B. C., in which archival material could safely be supplemented by reports of eye-witnesses, and later by the written records. Critics of the nineteenth century popularized the view that Fabius Pictor must have worked with unsafe conceptions of history because he told several of the early legends in full. This criticism misses a vital distinction which the Romans themselves recognized. The early annalists knew that the first period provided no reliable sources, but, with due warning to the reader, they reported the legends for what they might be worth. Fabius³ seems to have been rather meticulous in giving these exactly as he had heard them without any attempt to rationalize them, for Dionysius enjoys pointing out their unpalatable elements. Where we must test the scientific attitude of the early annalists is in their treatment of the second and third periods.

As regards the second period, we have seen that Piso, the last of the group—whose statements are as full as any—has in this portion an average of only about twelve lines per year. There is in fact no trace of legendary material in the fragments of any of the earliest historians of this period, and we can well understand why Cicero constantly compares the oldest accounts with the wiry *Annales Maximi*, why Dionysius says that in this portion they touched only upon outstanding facts, and why Asellio complains that no annalists before him had discussed the causes of the events which they recorded.

The archives had some material of value for the whole of these two centuries. The high priests' tablets of the Regia, though originally intended only as a record of sacrifices to be performed, contained many noteworthy items because the pontifex was usually one of the most distinguished statesmen and accordingly interpreted political events as of sacred importance. Each year's tablet therefore included the names of the consuls, and often gave the dates of declarations of war, of victories, defeats, famines, pestilences, destructive fires, earthquakes and eclipses, or other events that had called for expiations or thank-offerings. We are told that when the contents of the *Annales Maximi* were published about the Gracchan time they filled eighty volumes. Since the period covered was nearly

³ See E. S. Duckett, *Studies in Ennius* (Bryn Mawr diss., 1915), p. 22. Cato's first three books of *Origines* similarly recorded the legends of other Italian cities without pretending to judge of their historical value. Piso, the last of the early annalists, introduced the unwise method of editing the early myths in order to make them more plausible.

four centuries we may assume on the average a volume, presumably of about a thousand lines, for every five years or about two hundred lines per year. If only a tenth of the material was of interest to an historian these annals would still contain enough to fill the earlier books of a writer like Piso. In the Capitoline temple were stored almost all of Rome's treaties, engraved upon stone or bronze. Since Rome's fetial customs were carefully observed during the long period of expansion these treaties provided a dependable record of her external history. Before Vespasian's reign, as we happen to hear, three thousand of these documents had accumulated. In Fabius's day, judging from the extent of Rome's federation, we may safely assume at least a hundred. In the temple of Saturn were kept the laws passed by the centuriate assembly, in the temple of Ceres the important decrees of the senate. There were also temple records, inscriptions upon public buildings and, furthermore, independent local records in Rome's various colonies, which in some measure provided a check for those at Rome. And finally the existence of the old walls and temples up to the time of these historians furnished visible evidence of what Rome's ancient culture was like.

We are, of course, constantly told that the Gallic fire of 390 B. C. probably destroyed the old temples together with their records. This is one of the assumptions that archaeology has disproved.⁴ We now possess a fairly complete analysis of Rome's building materials and we have discovered that in almost every instance the old walls of the ancient temples remained standing into the late Republic and were used again in the reconstruction of those temples long after the Gallic fire. The original Capitoline temple with all its treaties survived till Sulla's day; the Regia, in which the pontifical tablets were stored, remained intact till after the tablets were published; the original temple of Saturn with its valuable archives stood till it was rebuilt after Caesar's death; the temple of Castor survived till it was rebuilt in 117 B. C., and we know from Pliny that Ceres's temple, where the senate's decrees were kept, remained intact till the Augustan period. If the Gauls spared the temples in fear of divine vengeance—the Celts and early Romans were equally religious—they would also spare the consecrated contents. There is no longer any excuse for repeating the unfounded conjecture that all of Rome's early archives were destroyed in the Gallic fire. The places in which they were kept certainly survived and the fact that the early annalists to a remarkable extent stand the test of modern investigation indicates that the archives also survived.

⁴ Roberts, in *Memoirs of the Am. Acad. in Rome*, II. (1918); Tenney Frank, *Roman Buildings of the Republic* (Rome, 1924).

Whether or not such material existed in the temples would, however, be a futile question, if, as Mommsen held, the Roman historians neglected to consult their archives. It is certainly true that after the Sullan period we hear little of research among original documents. But quite apart from the decay of historical standards, it is obvious that the desired materials were then largely accessible in published form. After the Sullan day every few years brought out new biographies and contemporary histories which incorporated from daily observation the facts of interest. Such sources became very numerous and men no longer needed to go to the archives for the kind of material that was wanted in popular histories. Hence it became customary to turn to books rather than to stored documents.

The situation had been wholly different during the century before the Gracchi. Then published source-books were just beginning to be made, and there were no convenient libraries of extensive histories. There seems to have been an anonymous digest of the priestly tablets before Fabius, but of this we are not sure. A complete edition was not made till the Gracchan period. An old code of sacred rules existed under the name of *Jus Papirianum*, and Sextus Aelius (consul in 198) had put out an edition of the Twelve Tables with a commentary and a list of the *legis actiones*. That was all. And yet senators were expected to know all the important documents that might be involved in senatorial debate. As Cicero puts the matter in his *De Legibus* (41), "It is necessary for a senator to know the commonwealth—completely I mean—to know its military and financial resources, what allies, 'friends', and subjects it has, and the laws, terms, and treaties by which each attained to its position, and he must also know the parliamentary rules of the senate and the history of Rome". To attain to such command of the archival material in the early days necessitated much first-hand study and doubtless the making of individual digests. We are reminded of the medieval law-men of Iceland who conducted the "things" in the period when no written codes existed and when they were compelled to keep all the laws and precedents at the command of their memories. Such senatorial practice was a preparation for historical composition which was very different from that attained by the professional writers of a later period. To assume that Fabius did not know the source-material because Livy seldom refers to original documents is to misunderstand the diverse methods that obtained in each man's day.

Roman historians of course knew the worth of Fabius Pictor. Livy went to him frequently to check up extravagant statements;

Dionysius refers to his conciseness and accuracy; Cicero, whose historical material in the *De Republica* and the *De Legibus* was based upon Fabius, vouched for his lack of rhetorical adornment, and Polybius followed him closely in the story of early Rome, in the first ten and last two years of the First Punic War, and in the Roman sections of the period from 241 to the end of the Second Punic War. The most meticulous of historians, Polybius, criticized Fabius only on the score of patriotic bias when giving generalized judgments of recent events. Polybius was of course a foreigner who could readily detect the nationalistic prejudice, and after observing the aberrations of history during the last war we can readily comprehend that Fabius may have failed in objectivity in writing of the wars in which he took an active part. But there is no reason for supposing that he did not set himself a high standard in telling the story of more distant events.

Polybius has received very great praise for his insistence upon accuracy. Professor Shotwell ends an enthusiastic chapter with the sentence, "But as long as history endures the ideals of Polybius will be an inspiration and guide". The praise is deserved, especially when we remember that Polybius had behind him in Greece nearly two centuries of extravagant rhetorical history. But when we ask how it happened that he turned his back upon all that tradition, no explanations are offered. It is not an adequate interpretation to say that by living in banishment he was removed from the temptations of historians writing the story of their own people, for he succeeds in being quite objective even when he writes of the Achaean League. Is it not likely that his contact with matter-of-fact and legal-minded Roman senators induced him to adopt some of their manners and methods? His respect for the integrity, sanity, and uprightness of Roman senators of the Scipionic period he voices repeatedly⁵ in contrasting their qualities with the unreliability, astuteness, and fickleness of his countrymen. It would seem at least worth considering whether Polybius did not owe some of his qualities as an historian to the fact that he served his apprenticeship in history among the early Roman annalists and that he adapted his work to the public which had been brought up on those matter-of-fact books. At any rate he is unique among the Greeks who lived after the classical period.

There is of course nothing to indicate that Fabius and his immediate followers were in any sense great historians. Without any literary background, with only such practice in writing as would

⁵ Polybius, VI. 56, XIII. 3, XVIII. 35, XXXII. 8-9.

come from composing state documents, occupied every day with concerns of a rapidly expanding state, they recorded only public acts and public discussions. What men did and strove for, outside of the voting, legislating, and fighting groups, was not recorded. Not even within their chosen field does there appear a penetrative analysis of senatorial policy. Fabius, to be sure, enumerated the immediate causes of both of the Punic Wars but only with a jurist's interest in deciding at what point the enemy had committed the breach for which he deserved punishment. As historians these men had the limitations of their qualities and of their occupations. But on the other hand there is no evidence that they knowingly garbled facts.

Finally, one may perhaps be permitted to object to an error of judgment regarding the nature of what is called the "scientific method" in ancient history. Students who have to deal with the gullible medieval chronicles seem to assume that historical criticism has but recently succeeded in creating a respect for objectivity and honesty in history, as though the logical processes of the mind were not fully developed in the human race twenty thousand years before the invention of the historical seminar. The incubus of religious authority dominant for centuries in the Middle Ages was a passing phase, as was the overweening respect for dramatic values in the Hellenistic historians and the eagerness to glorify families and the state in the Sullan romancers. But just as Polybius, when transplanted into a soberer atmosphere of action, rid himself with ease of the Hellenistic methods; as Julius Caesar, when occupied with absorbing actualities, could free himself from the habits of his day so far as to record the very crimes for which he was being assailed by Cato in the senate; as Ari Froði in Iceland escaped churchly influence sufficiently to write the history of his island with the same respect for truth that he used when judging a case at the "thing", so the early statesmen-annalists of Rome, when recording what was available for the historical period of the Republic, employed documents and personal observations with the same meticulous care that they used when presiding as praetors in the courts or when as senators arguing cases of international relations. Their brief historical notes are largely preserved for us in Polybius, in Cicero's *De Republica*, in Diodorus, and in the central skeleton structure of Livy, and the continuous existence of these notes in Roman times kept the legends from ever straying wholly beyond the reach of actuality. This also explains why it is that archaeological knowledge now coming to hand is so frequently found to fit in with what we have been wont to call "tradition".

TENNEY FRANK.

THE ALLEGED FRANKISH PROTECTORATE IN PALESTINE

RECENT years have witnessed a marked renewal of interest in the problem of the Frankish protectorate in Palestine. Notable contributions to the subject have been made by the Russian scholars MM. Barthold and Vasiliev,¹ and by the French medievalist M. Bréhier.² But the results reached by the first-named of these savants are diametrically opposed to those at which the other two have arrived. Barthold's position is negative to the extent of a denial even of the recorded diplomatic intercourse between the Frankish monarchs and the caliphs of Bagdad. Rejecting these conclusions as savōring of hypercriticism, Vasiliev holds that while the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd retained his sovereignty over Palestine, "Charlemagne received, with the permission of the caliph, the right of protection over Christians and pilgrims and also the right to construct hospices and churches at Jerusalem". In essential accord with Vasiliev and not without indebtedness to the earlier work of Count Riant, M. Bréhier has undertaken to define more precisely the character and function of the protectorate; and he has endeavored to prove that this institution long survived its reputed founder, that it functioned "normally" as

¹ Since the articles of both Barthold and Vasiliev were written in Russian, I have been able to acquaint myself with them only through the medium of reviews. Fortunately we have had several very good ones. In the (German) journal *Der Islam* (vol. III., 1912, pp. 409-411), F. F. Schmidt has given a detailed analysis of both the method and the conclusions of Barthold; and in the same publication (vol. IV., 1913, pp. 333-334), Barthold has disapprovingly compared the procedure and the results of Vasiliev with his own. Vasiliev's work has been favorably reviewed by L. Bréhier in the French periodical *Larousse Mensuel Illustré* (no. 91, September, 1914, pp. 223-224, *s.v.* "Palestine"); and brief notices of both articles will be found on page 27 of Louis Bréhier, "Les Origines des Rapports entre la France et la Syrie: le Protectorat de Charlemagne", in *Chambre de Commerce de Marseille: Congrès Français de la Syrie, Séances et Travaux*, fasc. II., Section d'Archéologie, Histoire, Géographie, et Ethnographie (Marseilles and Paris, 1919).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-39. This work is supplemented by the same author's "La Situation des Chrétiens de Palestine à la Fin du VIII^e Siècle et l'Établissement du Protectorat de Charlemagne", in *Moyen Age*, XXI. (1919) 67-75. Cf. also his *L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Âge: les Croisades*, originally published in 1907 and now in its fourth (enlarged) edition (Paris, 1921), pp. 22-34. The first-mentioned work of M. Bréhier will hereafter be cited simply by the author's name; the others will be specified by title.

late as *ca.* 867-870, and that it did not pass out of existence until the opening of the eleventh century.³

In English no thoroughgoing presentation of the subject has yet appeared. Partly for this reason and partly because, in my judgment, the conclusions above indicated are all in one way or another open to challenge, it has seemed worth while to re-examine here the evidence upon which the theory of the protectorate⁴ is grounded. With the interpretation of M. Bréhier as its *terminus a quo*, the present discussion will be carried through the reign of Charlemagne and into that of Louis the Pious. To proceed farther would, as we shall find, be a work of supererogation.

If we may believe the testimony of a single Western chronicler, relations between the Frankish court and the court of Bagdad had their inception prior to the reign of Charlemagne. In the year 765, it would seem, Pepin the Short despatched *missi* to the Abbassid caliph Manşūr (754-775). What commission had been entrusted to these *missi* is not divulged. But after an absence of three years they returned (probably early in 768) to Marseilles, accompanied by an embassy from the caliph which brought many gifts. The Saracens were honorably received and were assigned winter quarters in Metz. On April 10, 768, they were granted formal audience by Pepin at Sellus, and they there presented to him the gifts of Manşūr. Reciprocating the courtesies of the caliph with gifts of his own, Pepin had the distinguished visitors escorted with much honor back to Marseilles, where they embarked on ships homeward bound.⁵

The probable significance of these relations between Pepin and Manşūr will subsequently be adverted to.⁶ Just now it is sufficient to observe that there is nothing about them which points toward the establishment of a Frankish protectorate in Palestine.

³ Bréhier, pp. 35-36.

⁴ It may be observed that the modern term "protectorate" really can not, in its strict legal sense, be applied to the Frankish régime which is alleged to have obtained in Palestine during the ninth and tenth centuries. "Exterritoriality" would have been a less inaccurate term. But if the conclusions arrived at in this article are accepted as valid, objections on the point of terminology become *ipso facto* superfluous.

⁵ *Chronicarum quae dicuntur Fredegarii Scholastici Continuationes*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, SS. Rerum Meroving.*, vol. II, (Hanover, 1888), pp. 191-192, c. 51. Cf. J. F. Böhmer, *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern* (ed. Mühlbacher, Innsbruck, 1908), p. 54, no. 104 x; L. Oelsner, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter König Pippin* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 396, n. 1, p. 411; Cl. Huart, *Histoire des Arabes* (Paris, 1912), I. 289-292.

⁶ See *infra*, p. 259.

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Charlemagne is known to have communicated not only with the caliph Hārūn ar-Rashīd (786–809),⁷ but also with two or possibly three successive patriarchs of Jerusalem. During the decade 797–807 no less than nine embassies are recorded to have passed between the Frankish court and the Levant. Charles twice despatched envoys to the caliph, in 797 and in 802, and once to the patriarch, in 799. To the Frankish embassies Hārūn responded with two embassies of his own, in 801 and 807; while the patriarchs sent representatives to Charles at least four times, in 799, 800, 803, and 807.

Our sources show that Charlemagne took the initiative in the exchanges with the court of Bagdad. In the year 797 he despatched three men, the legates Lantfrid and Sigimund together with a Jew named Isaac, to Hārūn.⁸ While we have no satisfactory information on the purpose of this embassy, two questionable sources⁹ indicate that its object was to procure an elephant, and it is certain that the Jew Isaac did eventually bring back such an animal. Whether the envoys of Charles passed through Jerusalem on their way to Bagdad remains indeterminable;¹⁰ and whether diplomatic negotiations took

⁷ Huart, *op. cit.*, I. 293 ff.; cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I. (London and Leiden, 1913), II. 271–272.

⁸ *Annales Regni Francorum*, 801 (ed. Kurze), in *SS. Rer. Germ. in Usus Schol.* (Hanover, 1895), p. 116. In the opinion of Soetbeer (see *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. IV., Göttingen, 1864, p. 319), Isaac was not himself a legate but was sent along with Lantfrid and Sigimund as their interpreter and guide. Cf. S. Abel and B. Simson, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reichs unter Karl dem Grossen*, II. (1883) 255, n. 2.

⁹ *Chronicon Moissiacense*, 802, *M. G. H., SS.*, I. 307; Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen, Paris, 1923), p. 48. On the *Chronicle of Moissac*, see Abel and Simson, II. 255, and n. 2, 283, n. 2, and cf. L. Halphen, *Études Critiques sur l'Histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), p. 59, n. 2, end. See also Halphen's criticism (*ibid.*, pp. 88, 93, 95–97) of Einhard's *Vita Karoli*.

¹⁰ Bréhier (pp. 24, 25, 29) affirms that they did, and bases his opinion on the following passage from the (eleventh century) *Miracula S. Genesii* (*M. G. H., SS.*, XV. 170): "Contigit etiam eodem in tempore, missos domni imperatoris Karoli id ipsum in iter directos fore, qui ab Aaron rege Saracenorum elephantem expetebant atque cum aliis muneribus quae Karolo transmiserat, quamvis longa more interveniente, in Franciam detulerunt; nam quantum dimidium annum in via feruntur [the italics are mine] demorasse. Sed missi praefati comitis [Gebahardi] praesbiter et diaconus una cum illis Hierosolimam adventantes, reditum illorum, quia diu demorati sunt, praestolare non poterant." The insertion of the word *feruntur* shows that the first part of this passage is not an independent statement of the writer (cf. Abel and Simson, II. 255, n. 2). His further statement, that the messengers of Count Gebhard arrived at Jerusalem together with the envoys of Charlemagne, can therefore not be accepted without reservations. Einhard (*Vita Karoli*, c. 16, ed. Halphen, pp. 46, 48) tells us that: "legati ejus [*i.e.*, Karoli] quos cum donariis ad sacratissimum Domini ac salvatoris nostri sepulchrum locumque resurrectionis miserat, ad eum [Aaron regem Persarum] venissent . . . ; et revertentibus legatis suos adjungens, . . . ingentia illi dona direxit, cum ei

place between them and the caliph is problematical.¹¹ There is nothing which proves that Charles was in touch with his legates after their departure in 797. Probably he remained utterly ignorant of their fortunes until intelligence on that subject was brought him in June, 801,¹² by two Saracen envoys. Of these envoys, whose names are not given, one, a "Persian from the Orient", was the ambassador of the caliph Hārūn; while the other, a "Saracen from Africa", represented the semi-independent emir Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aghlab of Kairwan, or rather of al-'Abbāsiya, in North Africa.¹³ Advised that the envoys had arrived at the port of Pisa, the emperor promptly sent to meet them, and they were formally presented to him somewhere between Vercelli and Ivrea in northwestern Italy. They reported to Charles that the Jew Isaac was returning with an elephant and other magnificent gifts, but that his legates, Lantfrid and Sigmund, had both died on the journey. In October Isaac landed with his bulky baggage at Portovenere and, having spent the winter in Italy, he finally delivered the elephant and the other gifts to Charles at Aix-la-Chapelle in July, 802.¹⁴ Had the Saracen envoys in the meantime been negotiating with Charles? We do not know. There is no record even of their departure.

While the Frankish envoys of 797 were absent in the Levant, there had been interchanges of gifts and civilities between the patri-

ante paucos annos [the italics are mine] eum quem tunc solum habebat roganti mitteret elefantum". Bréhier assumes (p. 29) that these words of Einhard support his theory (p. 25) that "en 797-798 l'ambassade de Charles au calife traverse Jérusalem". In fact they do not. Einhard distinguishes the embassy which (he says) proceeded via the Holy Sepulchre to Hārūn, from the one which had been sent to procure the elephant. The embassy which received the elephant was anterior to the other by several years. This leaves no support for the theory that the Frankish envoys of 797 passed through Jerusalem, save the suspicious statement in the *Mirac. S. Genesii*; and that, we may agree with Abel and Simson (II. 203, n. 1, 368, n. 1), probably represents nothing more than a misunderstanding of Einhard's *Vita*, for the *Vita* and the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi* appear to have been the sources from which the hagiographer drew his information (*ibid.*, p. 255, n. 2).

¹¹ According to Bréhier (pp. 28-29): "Einhard affirme que la question de protection des chrétiens de Palestine a été traitée directement entre le calife et les ambassadeurs envoyés par Charlemagne en 797." In fact Einhard says nothing of the kind. What he does say applies to the embassy of 802, not to that of 797. See *infra*, pp. 250 ff.

¹² Böhmer (Mühlbacher ed.), p. 168, no. 374 a.

¹³ See *Encycl. of Islam*, II. 434, s.v. "Ibrāhīm B. al-Aghlab", I. 16, s.v. "al-'Abbāsiya".

¹⁴ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 801, 802 (ed. Kurze), pp. 114-117. Cf. Abel and Simson, II. 282-283. Soetbeer (in *Forsch. z. D. Gesch.*, IV. 319) correctly states that it is impossible to determine whether the legates died on the way to Bagdad or on the return therefrom.

arch of Jerusalem and Charlemagne. And let it be emphasized that the initiative to these relations came from the patriarch.

Late in 799,¹⁵ and probably two years after the departure of the first Frankish embassy to Hārūn, Charles received at Aix-la-Chapelle a certain monk whom the patriarch of Jerusalem¹⁶ had sent to him with a benediction and relics from the Holy Sepulchre. After Christmas, the monk expressed his desire to return and was duly dismissed. Zacharias, a palatine priest to whom Charles entrusted his offerings for the Holy Places, was ordered to accompany the monk on the journey to Palestine.¹⁷

Nearly a year passed before Zacharias in December, 800, returned to Europe. He came to Rome on December 23,¹⁸ the same day on which Pope Leo III., in the presence of Charlemagne and a large assembly of clergymen and laymen, by an oath of purgation cleared himself of the vile accusations of his enemies. Zacharias was accompanied by two monks, one from Mt. Olivet and the other from St. Sabas, sent by the patriarch to the king of the Franks. This *legatio honesta sanctae civitatis*, as Alcuin afterwards called it,¹⁹ brought to Charles, by way of a blessing, keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the place of Calvary together with a banner.²⁰ We derive this information from contemporary sources, the *Annales Regni Francorum*, commonly known as the *Royal Annals*. There are, however, two versions of these annals: the original so-called *Annales*

¹⁵ Böhmer (Mühlbacher ed.), pp. 158, 799, no. 350 h.

¹⁶ Was the patriarch in question George, to whom Alcuin wrote a letter ca. 800 (*M. G. H., Epp.*, IV. 350–351, no. 210)? Since the letter congratulates George on his accession to the patriarchate, it may be presumed that he had not long held that office. The predecessor of George was Helias (*Vita S. Stephani Sabaitae Thaumaturgi Monachi* in *AA. SS. Boll.*, July, III. 524). It is possible that the monk who came to Charles in 799 had been sent by Helias, but it seems more likely that he represented George, the new patriarch, who is known to have sent representatives to the emperor in 803 (*cf. infra*, p. 252). Bréhier (p. 25) assumes that the monk had been sent by the patriarch to entreat Charlemagne to accept the rôle of protector of Christians in Palestine. His assumption is based partly on an alleged unsatisfactory condition which he asserts then obtained for the Christians of Palestine (see *infra*, n. 32), and partly on untrustworthy statements in sources dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (*cf. infra*, n. 25). It should be emphasized that the contemporary sources for the year 799 have not a word concerning any solicitation of this kind.

¹⁷ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 799, 800 (ed. Kurze), pp. 108, 110; *cf. Ann. q. d. Einhardi*, *ibid.*, pp. 109, 111. On the identity and position of Zacharias, see Abel and Simson, II. 544, n. 2.

¹⁸ Böhmer, nos. 370 a, 370 b; *cf. Halphen, Études Critiques*, pp. 223, 232. Bréhier (pp. 25 ff.) wrongly gives the date as November 30.

¹⁹ *M. G. H., Epp.*, IV. 358, no. 214.

²⁰ *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*, 800 (ed. Kurze), p. 113: "qui benedictionis gratia claves sepulchri Dominici ac loci calvariae cum vexillo detulerunt."

Laurissenses Maiores; and the revision, now usually cited as the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*. In the extant manuscripts of the *Annales Laurissenses Maiores* it is stated that the envoys brought also "the keys of the city and of the mountain".²¹ But whether these words appeared in the original manuscript of the *Annales Laurissenses Maiores* is at least questionable; and they do not appear in the extant manuscripts of the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*.²² Accordingly, since in general the two versions are of equal authority,²³ it would be unwise to accept the dubitable statement in the former

²¹ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 800 (ed. Kurze), p. 112: "qui benedictionis causa claves sepulchri Dominici ac loci calvariae, claves etiam civitatis et montis cum vexillo detulerunt."

²² Both Kurze (*Ann. Regni Franc.*, pp. 112-113) and Pertz (*M. G. H.*, SS., I. 188-189) indicate, by not reporting variations in the MSS. at this point, that the words "claves etiam civitatis et montis" are present in all the MSS. of the *Ann. Laurissenses* and are wanting in all the MSS. of the *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*. It is generally admitted that the *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*, at least down to the year 801, constitute a revised version of the *Ann. Laurissenses Maiores* (cf. A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, 1^e partie, I. [Paris, 1902] 224-226); and save for the obstinately dissenting opinion of Kurze, which is negligible (see the editorial notes in *Neues Archiv der Gesellsch. für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XXVI. [1901] 153, XXVIII. [1902-1903] 621—cf. Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 3, 80-81), there is virtual agreement that the revision was prepared very soon after the original, not later than 817 and possibly as early as 801 (cf. W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* [Berlin, 1893], I. 201; G. Monod, *Études Critiques sur les Sources de l'Histoire Carolingienne* [fasc. 119 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Philologiques et Historiques*, Paris, 1898], pp. 145-147; H. Bloch, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, vol. CLXIII., pt. II. [1901], p. 886). Now, since the words "claves . . . montis" do not appear in the revised version, it is obvious that the reviser either did not find those words in the original or, if he found them, omitted them from his version. But to conceive this as a case of omission, either accidental or deliberate, is difficult if not impossible. The reviser's habitual accuracy (cf. Monod, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144, 148) renders inadvertence in this instance highly improbable. The words could hardly have been excluded on stylistic grounds. Nor is it likely that the reviser was attempting to suppress for "reasons of state" what had already been published in the original and official annals. The only remaining possibility seems to be that he omitted these words because, in his judgment, they were not true. But whether we take that position, or assume that the words did not appear in the original annals, is, for the purposes of the present argument, immaterial. In neither case could it be admitted that "the keys of the city and the mountain" were presented to Charles. It is also worth noting that Einhard in his *Vita Karoli* (c. 16, ed. Halphen, pp. 46, 48) does not mention a concession to Charles of "the city and the mountain", but only a grant of the Holy Sepulchre. Einhard, writing in 830 or thereafter (cf. Halphen, *Études Critiques*, p. 103), drew his information both from the *Ann. Laurissenses Maiores* and the *Ann. q. d. Einhardi* (*ibid.*, p. 78 and n. 5; cf. Monod, p. 146). What possible reason could he have had for suppressing such highly flattering information in a work designed to be a eulogy of his hero?

²³ Monod, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

without reservation. Moreover, it must be carefully noted that both versions specify that the keys and the banner were brought *benedictionis causa* (or *gratia*).

The delivery of the keys and the banner is usually interpreted as a symbolic act whereby the patriarch of Jerusalem implicitly did homage to the king of the Franks and placed himself under that monarch's direct protection.²⁴ This interpretation rests in last analysis²⁵ upon an assumed analogy between the above-mentioned act of the patriarch and similar acts by Popes Gregory III. and Leo III. on earlier occasions. Analogies, however, are doubtful auxiliaries in the search for the true significance of historical facts. By directing attention to superficial similarities they often obscure essential differences, thus generating misunderstanding and error. Between the act of Leo III. in 796²⁶ and that of the patriarch in 800 there is, after all, a very important difference. In 796 the Frankish protectorate over the Holy See, definitely established in the time of Pepin the Short, was already forty years old, and Leo's act must be interpreted in the light of the relations which had obtained between his predecessors and the Frankish kings.²⁷ Such relations did not, in 800 at least, obtain between Charlemagne and the patriarch of Jerusalem. Gregory III.'s presentation of keys to Charles Martel is somewhat more in point. For at the time it took place, in 739, the Frankish protectorate over the see of St. Peter was not yet in existence. And the act of Gregory was more than a mere gesture; it was undeniably a direct, though symbolic, request for protection.²⁸ Yet, precisely for that reason and in that respect, does it differ from the act of the patriarch in 800. The latter act was, according to our

²⁴ Cf. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III. (1883) 185-186; E. Caspar, *Pippin und die Römische Kirche* (Berlin, 1914), p. 4, n. 1; Bréhier, pp. 25-26.

²⁵ Bréhier (pp. 30, 31) has marshalled posterior sources, such as the *Annales Nordhumbrani*, the *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, Hugh of Fleury, and William of Malmesbury, in support of this interpretation, his contention being that they furnish new facts unknown both to the *Royal Annals* and to Einhard. Since, however, this point has not been proved, it can not be regarded as anything more than a gratuitous assumption. The truth is that all the sources in question are palpably steeped in the tradition of the eleventh or twelfth century (cf. Böhmer, Mühlbacher ed., p. 165, no. 370 b; Abel and Simson, II. 234, n. 1) and therefore can not be relied upon for the actual facts of the closing eighth century. Even the *Northumbrian Annals*, to which Bréhier attributes special value, show unmistakably the influence of twelfth-century crusading ideas (see Pauli, "Karl der Grosse in Northumbrischen Annalen", in *Forsch. z. d. Gesch.*, XII. [1871] 164).

²⁶ See Abel and Simson, II. 111-113.

²⁷ On these see Caspar, *op. cit.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-9.

sources, which are explicit and in perfect agreement on this point, merely *benedictionis causa*. This highly significant explanatory phrase does not occur in any of the accounts which announce the delivery of keys by Gregory III. and Leo III.²⁹ Its presence in all the contemporary sources for the year 800 is sufficient proof that the writers did not attribute political significance to the ceremony by which the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the place of Calvary together with a banner were presented to the king of the Franks. To interpret that ceremony as the first step in the establishment of a Frankish protectorate in the Holy Land is, therefore, completely to ignore a very explicit statement in the sources and to read into them what is not there. Moreover, what has been recorded of Charlemagne's reaction to the patriarch's courtesies in 800 yields no support to such an interpretation. We know only that Charles received the envoys graciously, that he kept them with him for several days, and that in April of the following year (801) he sent them back with return gifts.³⁰

Were the patriarch's communications with Charlemagne in any way related to those of the caliph? It has been pointed out that Charlemagne initiated the negotiations with the caliph in 797. This was two years before the first envoy of the patriarch arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle in 799. Whatever the object of Charles when he opened communications with the caliph in 797, obviously it could not have been suggested by representations on the part of the patriarch in 799. Whether the Frankish envoys passed through Jerusalem on their way to Bagdad is, as we have seen, not certain.³¹ M. Bréhier, it is true, would have us believe that the despatch of the patriarch's first envoy in 799 was occasioned by the arrival of Charlemagne's embassy in Palestine and that the mission of the envoy was to solicit Charles to accept the rôle of protector.³² But these are gratuitous assumptions resting on no real evidence.

²⁹ See T. Breysig, *Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches*, 714-741, *die Zeit Karl Martells* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 93, nn. 4, 5, and Abel and Simson, II. 112, n. 1, where the respective sources are conveniently quoted. Cf. G. Richter, *Annalen der Deutschen Geschichte*, I. (Halle, 1873) 200, note d; II. (*ibid.*, 1885) 132-133, note e.

³⁰ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 800 (ed. Kurze), p. 112; cf. *Ann. q. d. Einhardi*, *ibid.*, p. 113.

³¹ Cf. *supra*, n. 10.

³² Bréhier, pp. 24, 25, 31. In a separate article ("La Situation des Chrétiens de Palestine", etc.—see *supra*, n. 2) Bréhier has set forth at some length four incidents which in his opinion show that the situation of Palestinian Christians at the close of the eighth century was sufficiently difficult to justify and explain an appeal for protection by the patriarch to Charlemagne. The first three of these incidents may be promptly dismissed as irrelevant. The fourth

To bring the mission of Zacharias into relation with the embassy to the caliph is likewise impossible. It is true that Einhard in his *Vita Karoli*, after having alluded to certain legates whom Charlemagne had sent with gifts to the Holy Sepulchre, adds that they also visited Hārūn; but the view that these were the legates of 797 is mistaken, for a few lines further on Einhard clearly indicates that he was referring to a later embassy.³³ If Zacharias was charged with some errand beyond that of bringing Charlemagne's gifts to the Holy Places, the sources fail to signalize it. On his return Zacharias, as we know, was accompanied by the two monks whom the patriarch—not the caliph—had sent to deliver the keys and the banner. Could the delivery have taken place without the previous assent of the caliph? Certainly not, if it signified the inception of a Frankish protectorate in Palestine.³⁴ But if it was merely *benedictionis causa*, as our sources state, the necessity of authorization by the caliph is not apparent. Not only is there no evidence that such authorization had been sought by the patriarch, but our sources do not credit either Hārūn's envoys of 801 or the returning Isaac with having made any mention whether of the delivery of the keys and banner or of the concession of a protectorate.³⁵

The impossibility of proving that the keys and the banner were presented with the express consent of the caliph has given rise to the conjecture that this ceremony was only a point of departure and that the definite organization of the Frankish protectorate took

is perhaps deserving of a little more attention. In 796–797 attacks were made on the monastery of St. Sabas by “une de ces tribus de Bédouins nomades qui ont infesté de tout temps le désert de Syrie et qu'aucune domination régulière n'a pu assujettir” (*ibid.*, p. 72). Bréhier admits that the (Saracen) garrison of Jerusalem had dispersed these same Bedouins from the environs of Bethlehem and had prevented them from entering the Holy City. Yet we are asked to believe that the failure of the garrison to forestall the subsequent attacks on the monastery of St. Sabas so completely undermined the patriarch's faith in the ability or the desire of the Saracen authorities to protect their Christian subjects that he determined to place himself and his flock under the patronage of Charlemagne, “dont l'autorité serait assez forte pour intervenir en leur faveur” (*ibid.*, pp. 73–74)! This position lacks the support of the contemporary sources (*cf. supra*, nn. 16, 25) and inherently seems, to say the least, highly improbable. Is it conceivable that the patriarch could have imagined that the influence of Charlemagne might accomplish in Palestine what the Saracen authorities could not, what no regular government had ever accomplished? And if the patriarch had entertained such wild ideas, would he have dared to intimate them to the caliph? Bréhier answers these questions by affirmative conjectures (see pp. 28, 31, of his “*Les Origines des Rapports*”, etc.), which I find it impossible to accept.

³³ See *supra*, n. 10.

³⁴ Cf. Bréhier, p. 28.

³⁵ Cf. *supra*, p. 244.

place in the course of subsequent negotiations.³⁶ Our next task, therefore, is to examine the later dealings of Charlemagne with the caliph and the patriarch.

Probably in 802, the year of the arrival of the elephant at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charlemagne again despatched envoys, one of whom was a certain Radbert, to the Levant. Concerning their errand we have two varying accounts. The *Royal Annals*, without indicating the nature of their mission, simply state that the envoys were sent to the caliph.³⁷ According to Einhard's *Vita Karoli*,³⁸ they were sent with offerings to the Holy Sepulchre, and, presumably after having discharged this part of their mission, journeyed on to Hārūn. Of negotiations with the caliph the *Royal Annals* say nothing. But Einhard tells us that "when the legates . . . had indicated to him [Hārūn] the wish of their master, he not only permitted those things to be done which were requested, but also granted that that sacred and salutary place [*i.e.*, the Holy Sepulchre] be assigned to his [Charlemagne's] power". The value of this testimony of course depends partly upon the character of Einhard's sources of information and partly upon his own accuracy as a writer. It has been pretty well established not only that the *Vita Karoli* was written after that portion of the *Royal Annals* with which we are here concerned, but also that a very large part of the *Vita* depends directly upon the *Royal Annals*, and particularly upon the revised version, the *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*.³⁹ M. Halphen in his recent penetrating and, to my mind, convincing criticism of the *Vita* does, it is true, admit that Einhard was at one time in position to peruse the diplomatic correspondence of the early ninth century and that some details gleaned from this correspondence may have been present in his mind when he wrote the chapter containing the words quoted above. But the same scholar gives clearly to understand that what Einhard retained of this correspondence "est bien peu de chose";⁴⁰ and that in general the *Vita*, by reason of its author's inaccuracy and partiality, "constitue un document auquel on ne saurait jamais se fier entière-

³⁶ Bréhier, p. 28. In his *L'Église et l'Orient* (p. 25) Bréhier supposed that the caliph's envoys of 801 "étaient chargés sans doute de lui [Charles] apporter la confirmation officielle de l'investiture du protectorat de la Terre Sainte", and cited the *Ann. Einhardi* (*M. G. H.*, SS., I, 190) as his authority. But the portion of these annals which is printed on the page referred to lends no support to this conjecture.

³⁷ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 806, 807 (ed. Kurze), pp. 122, 123.

³⁸ C. 16 (ed. Halphen), pp. 46, 48.

³⁹ Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 78-79. Cf. *supra*, n. 22, end.

⁴⁰ Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

ment et dont toutes les affirmations appellent le plus sévère contrôle".⁴¹

Just now we have to do with those statements of Einhard which refer to the Frankish embassy of 802, and we are concerned with them only to the extent of their variation with the *Royal Annals*. What does Einhard say about this embassy which is not corroborated by the *Royal Annals*? He says (1) that Charlemagne's envoys had been sent with offerings to the Holy Sepulchre; (2) that when the envoys appeared before the caliph they presented to him certain requests of Charlemagne, to which Hārūn consented; and (3) that the caliph (not satisfied with merely granting what was requested) also, and of his own accord, promised to place the Holy Sepulchre under the power of Charles. The first of these affirmations probably represents what Einhard remembered of the mission of Zacharias, who, according to the *Royal Annals*, had been sent with offerings to the Holy Places in 799.⁴² Quite obviously Einhard has here confused Zacharias with the second embassy to the caliph.⁴³ The envoys mentioned in the next statement can, for reasons already elucidated,⁴⁴ be identified only with those despatched by Charles in 802. What Einhard says of their negotiations with the caliph has no clear prototype in the *Royal Annals*. Hence M. Bréhier⁴⁵ contends that this passage may contain information derived by Einhard from the diplomatic correspondence of Charlemagne. The possibility can not be denied. But it will be noted that Einhard's recollection of what he may have read in that correspondence was extremely poor. He remembered only that the Frankish envoys had made certain requests which the caliph most obligingly gratified; the specific things requested, he had completely forgotten. The third assertion of Ein-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 103. Recently F. L. Ganshof ("Notes Critiques sur Eginhard, Biographe de Charlemagne", in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, III. [1924] 725-758) has raised objections to what he regards as the too severe conclusions of Halphen concerning the originality and credibility of Einhard's testimony in the *Vita Karoli*. This is not the place to estimate the general validity of Ganshof's position. For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that Ganshof admits (1) that the *Vita* must be used with the same caution as any other narrative historical source of the Middle Ages (p. 741, n. 1) and (2) that with reference to Hārūn's despatch of embassies and gifts to Charlemagne, "ces faits, nous les connaissons beaucoup mieux par la lecture des Annales, qui nous sont au moins aussi accessibles qu'elles l'étaient à Eginhard" (p. 744).

⁴² In the *Royal Annals* there is no other mention of such offerings. But cf. *infra*, pp. 253-255.

⁴³ Abel and Simson (II. 203, n. 4, 368, n. 1) admit this as a possibility.

⁴⁴ *Supra*, n. 10.

⁴⁵ P. 28, bottom. Ganshof (*op. cit.*, pp. 741, 744-745) obviously shares the view of Bréhier on this point.

hard, which refers to the concession of the Holy Sepulchre, need not detain us; for even M. Bréhier is constrained to admit that it "n'est peut-être qu'une interprétation personnelle faite par Eginhard de la tradition des clefs".⁴⁶ But after the grant of the Holy Sepulchre has been reduced to the level of a mistaken assumption, nothing remains of Einhard's testimony which may be interpreted as pointing to a protectorate. Even if it be assumed that the undefined requests presented by the Frankish envoys and granted by Hārūn are not a mere fiction of Einhard's imagination,⁴⁷ it is still necessary to prove that they were requests for a protectorate, and such proof may be set down as impossible.

The Frankish envoys of 802 returned to Europe in 806. At that time hostilities were in progress between the Frankish and the Byzantine empires, and the coast of the upper Adriatic was being blockaded by a Byzantine fleet.⁴⁸ But the ships bearing the envoys contrived or were permitted to pass through the blockade, and, unnoticed by the enemy, reached the port of Treviso in safety. One of the envoys, the above-mentioned Radbert, died (on the journey northward from Treviso?) early in the following year (807).⁴⁹

During the time that the *legati* of 802 were executing their mission to the caliph, Patriarch George of Jerusalem sent two monks⁵⁰ to the emperor. In the summer of 803⁵¹ they came to Charles at Salz on the river Saale. When, in October, the emperor arrived at Salzburg in Bavaria, the monks were still with him.⁵² What the

⁴⁶ Bréhier, p. 33. Ganshof (*op. cit.*, pp. 744-747), on the contrary, insists that we must believe that Hārūn "soumit les Lieux-Saints au pouvoir de Charlemagne", solely because Einhard says so (p. 745). In view of Ganshof's previous admissions (see *supra*, n. 41) this position seems strange. Einhard is surely not infallible; nor can it be assumed that his testimony is of necessity accurate whenever it is not contradicted. If the Holy Sepulchre had been placed in the power of Charles sometime between 802 and 807, why is there no reference to that fact in the *Commemoratorium* of ca. 808 (see *infra*, n. 60)? Finally, it must be insisted that even if Hārūn had assigned the Holy Sepulchre to the power of Charles, it would not necessarily follow that a general right of protection over the Christians and their establishments accompanied that gift. This alleged right of protection is pure conjecture, to which not even Einhard yields support.

⁴⁷ See *infra*, n. 82.

⁴⁸ Cf. Abel and Simson, II. 357 ff.; J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), p. 324.

⁴⁹ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 806, 807 (ed. Kurze), pp. 122, 123.

⁵⁰ The identity of the monks remains uncertain, but cf. *infra*, n. 53.

⁵¹ Cf. Böhmer (Mühlbacher ed.), p. 179, no. 398 b; Abel and Simson, II. 291, n. 5.

⁵² *Annales Maximiniani*, 803, M. G. H., SS., XIII. 23; *Annales Inuvavenses Maiores*, 803, *ibid.*, I. 87. On the value of these sources, see Halphen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff., 47. See also Abel and Simson, II. 298, nn. 3, 6, 7, and cf. pp. 296-297.

errand of this embassy was we do not know, and there is nothing to show that Charlemagne responded to it.

The next envoys from Jerusalem were the abbot George of Mt. Olivet and the monk Felix, representing Patriarch Thomas.⁵³ Probably George and Felix journeyed to Europe in the company of Abdallah, an ambassador of the caliph. In any case they arrived together with him at Aix-la-Chapelle early in 807. Einhard tells us that the caliph had arranged to have his embassy join the Frankish envoys (of 802) when the latter set out on their return voyage. With the envoys the caliph forwarded a number of splendid gifts to the emperor: a pavilion, or marquee, with appendant tents, all of large size and great beauty, made of linen and dyed in various colors; precious silken garments, perfumes, ointments, and balsam; a brass horologe, or waterclock, with an intricate and ingeniously devised mechanism; and two large brass candelabra.⁵⁴

For the assumption that Abdallah and the monks had been despatched to the Frankish court on the same errand⁵⁵ there is no real evidence. The fact that the *Royal Annals* carefully distinguish Abdallah, as the *legatus regis Persarum*, from the abbot George and the monk Felix, *qui legatione Thomae patriarchae fungebantur*, points rather toward two separate and mutually independent missions. Whether Abdallah had a commission beyond that of delivering the caliph's gifts, and what the real errand of the monks was, are matters upon which our sources shed no light.⁵⁶ The three envoys remained with the emperor for some time and were then directed by him to proceed to Italy, there to await the time of navigation.⁵⁷

The evidence cited for the operation of the protectorate in the later years of Charlemagne (807–814) gathers around three points:

⁵³ It is possible that George and Felix had also been the envoys of the patriarch in 803 (see Abel and Simson, II. 298, n. 7). Abbot George, the envoy, who was of German nationality and had been named Egilbald by his parents, must not be confused with the patriarch of the same name (*cf. supra*, n. 16), the predecessor of Thomas. Thomas held the office of patriarch from *ca.* 807 to *ca.* 829 (Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, IV. [1867] 386, n. 2; Abel and Simson, II. 298, n. 7).

⁵⁴ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 807 (ed. Kurze), pp. 123–124; Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen), p. 48.

⁵⁵ Bréhier (p. 29, bottom) seems to make that assumption.

⁵⁶ Bréhier (p. 30) regards this embassy as "proof" that negotiations relative to Palestine were being conducted by the caliph; and, according to him, the magnificence of the caliph's gifts signifies that the embassy had come to close the negotiations; hence from this time the accord between the two monarchs is to be considered complete. Abel and Simson (II. 368–369) are of a similar opinion. Nonetheless it all remains pure and unwarranted conjecture.

⁵⁷ *Ann. Regni Franc.*, 807 (ed. Kurze), p. 124.

(1) Charles furnished regular resources to overseas Christians by periodic levies of alms; (2) he caused a number of religious establishments to be founded in Palestine; (3) he was called upon to settle a theological controversy which had arisen in Jerusalem. The first two of these points may be taken up together.

That Charlemagne sent gratuities to Palestine is not to be denied. Probably he did it repeatedly if not regularly. According to Einhard, the emperor out of sympathy for the penury of overseas Christians "was wont to send money" not only to Jerusalem but also to Alexandria and Carthage, where he had learned that the Christians were living in poverty. A capitulary informs us that in 810 he proposed to despatch alms to Jerusalem for the restoration of churches.⁵⁸ He has been credited also with the erection of new ecclesiastical structures—monasteries and hospices as well as churches. M. Bréhier assures us that as a result of these activities "a whole Frankish quarter was grouped around the basilica of the Holy Sepulchre", and that the emperor's property rights in the Latin monasteries of Mt. Olivet and St. Mary the Latin were "recognized". The "Frankish quarter" is said to have included the church of St. Mary the Latin, a hospice for pilgrims, and a market-place.⁵⁹

The documentary basis upon which these comprehensive claims rest seems inadequate. In the strictly contemporary sources there is, as already noted, some evidence that Charles was interested in the *restoration* of churches, presumably old ones needing repair; but there is no indication of building operations on a broader scale.⁶⁰ The only testimony we possess relative to the "Frankish quarter" is furnished by Bernard the Monk (867-870), who states that he

⁵⁸ Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 27 (ed. Halphen), p. 78. The capitulary issued at Aix-la-Chapelle in 810 (*M. G. H., LL.*, sectio II., t. I., p. 154, c. 18) does not justify Bréhier's assumption (p. 33) of a *levée périodique* (cf. my dissertation, *The Danegeld in France*, in *Augustana Library Publications*, no. 10 [Rock Island, Ill., 1923], p. 200 and n. 47). See also *supra*, p. 245 and n. 17; p. 248 and n. 30.

⁵⁹ Bréhier, pp. 33-34.

⁶⁰ The author of the contemporary (ca. 808) *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei vel Monasteriis* (in T. Tobler and A. Molinier, edd., *Itinera Hierosolymitana* [Publications de la Société de l'Orient Latin, Série Géographique, I.-II., Geneva, 1879], pp. 299 ff.) does not indicate that Charlemagne was either the founder or the owner of any one of the various ecclesiastical establishments enumerated in this inventory. Indeed the only reference to Charlemagne in the entire document is the following (p. 302): "De imperio domini Caroli que ad sepulcrum Domini serviunt Deo sacrate xvij, inclusa de Hispania j." These few Frankish ecclesiastics seem insignificant in comparison with the large number (over one hundred and fifty) of other clerics connected with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (*ibid.*, p. 301).

was "received into the hostel of the most glorious emperor Charles, where all are admitted who come to this place for devotional reasons and speak the Roman tongue". Bernard also mentions a church of St. Mary located hard by the hostel. He informs us that it "has a noble library through the care of the aforesaid emperor"; but he does not say that it had been built by Charles. Nor does he indicate that the market had been established or was owned by the Franks.⁶¹ From the tenth century we have two brief references to other building activities. One of these is to the effect that Charlemagne, by sending much money to Palestine, caused many monasteries to be built;⁶² the other indicates that he founded a hospital on the "Field of Blood".⁶³ Neither, it is submitted, deserves unqualified credence. Summed up, the admissible testimony signifies: (1) that Charles despatched alms to Palestine, and that some part of these alms may have been expended upon the repair of churches; (2) that he may have been the founder of the hospice which ca. 867-870 bore his name; and (3) that he may have equipped the library which elicited the admiration of the monk Bernard. But to concede thus much is not to arrive at a protectorate. For the benefactions were neither necessarily nor demonstrably dependent upon a protectorate.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Itinerarium Bernardi Monachi Franci*, in Tobler and Molinier, *op. cit.*, vol. I., p. 314, c. 10. Cf. the English translation, "The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise", in *Palestine Pilgrims Text Society*, vol. III. (London, 1893), p. 7. It may be worth noting that the library possessed by the Frankish monks of Mt. Olivet in 809 (cf. *infra*, n. 67) was, in part at least, a gift of Charlemagne (Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.*, IV. 384).

⁶² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, c. XXVI. (ed. Bekker) in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, III. (Bonn, 1840) 115.

⁶³ Druthmar, *Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CVI. 1486.

⁶⁴ Einhard's statement (cf. *supra*, p. 254 and n. 58) that Charlemagne "sought the friendships of overseas kings chiefly in order that some alleviation and relief might reach the Christians living under their dominion", does not prove such a relation. We must scrupulously avoid discovering in this statement what really is not there. Einhard does not say that Charlemagne either solicited or received anything resembling a protectorate, but merely that he sought friendships—*amicitias expetens*; these friendships were sought with more than one overseas "king" (evidently Einhard was thinking not only of the caliph of Bagdad, but also of the governors of Egypt and the semi-independent princes of North Africa); and, avowedly, the chief purpose of the friendships was to make possible the delivery of European alms to Christians living under the dominion of the various aforesaid "kings". Not that much faith can be reposed in the motives which a panegyrist ascribes to his hero (cf. Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 85-91); but it must be insisted that the words of Einhard, even at their face value, do not lend any real support to the theory of the protectorate. If they defined what Bréhier terms (p. 33) "toute la politique du protectorat", it would follow that the Frankish protectorate included not only Palestine but also Egypt and North Africa!

It has been contended that the function of the alleged institution was not only to safeguard Christians against hostile action on the part of the Mohammedan authorities, but also to maintain peace within the Christian community itself and to provide a court of last resort for the final settlement of controversies arising within that community. Proof of this, according to M. Bréhier, is furnished by a certain episode in the controversy over the insertion of the *filioque* into the Nicene Creed.⁶⁵ Without narrating all the particulars of this episode,⁶⁶ it may be stated that M. Bréhier is in error when he asserts that "the patriarch of Jerusalem invoked the arbitration of Pope Leo III. and despatched two monks of Mt. Olivet to Charlemagne who received them at Aix-la-Chapelle in November, 809". Not the patriarch of Jerusalem, but the Frankish brethren of the monastery of Mt. Olivet,⁶⁷ petitioned the pope for instruction on the authenticity of the *filioque* clause. Evidence that Charlemagne received representatives of the patriarch in November, 809, there is none. Leo III., it is true, after he had prepared a *Symbolum Orthodoxae Fidei* for the Frankish monks of Mt. Olivet, referred to Charles the matter which had caused these brethren embarrassment. The purpose of this action, however, was not to secure a theological decision, but to ascertain whether the monks were right in asserting that they had heard the creed recited with the *filioque* in Charlemagne's chapel, a practice of which Leo III. did not approve. The later stages of the episode, including the council summoned by Charlemagne, may be passed over as irrelevant to the point under discussion. Two facts are clear: (1) no one in Palestine resorted to the tribunal of Charlemagne; (2) in their appeal to the pope the monks of Mt. Olivet merely cited the emperor as a witness on their

⁶⁵ Bréhier, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁶ The sources are as follows: *Epistola Peregrinorum Monachorum in Monte Oliveti habitantium ad Leonem Papam III.* (Baluze, *Miscell.*, VII. [Paris, 1715] 14-17; also in Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.*, IV. 382-385); a letter of Pope Leo III. to Charlemagne (Baluze, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 386); *Symbolum Orthodoxae Fidei Leonis Papae* (Baluze, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-21); *Annales Regni Franc.*, 809 (ed. Kurze), p. 129. For comment see Abel and Simson, II. 403 ff.; J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, III. (1877) 750 ff.; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II. (1890) 301 ff.; J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel*, I. (1867) 696 ff.; J. A. Ketterer, *Karl der Grosse und die Kirche* (Munich, 1898), p. 97.

⁶⁷ These monks, six of whom are named in the letter addressed by them to Pope Leo III. (Jaffé, *op. cit.*, p. 385), are there referred to as being "in sancta civitate Ierusalem peregrini" (p. 382) and as "Franci, qui sunt in monte Oliveti" (p. 383); also they are clearly distinguished from the "Hierosolymitas" (*ibid.*). According to the *Commemoratorium* of ca. 808 (see *supra*, n. 60), p. 302, there were only five Latins at Mt. Olivet, all the others being Greeks or Orientals.

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side. These facts⁶⁸ invalidate the theory that the Christian community of Jerusalem looked to Charlemagne as its court of last resort.

Space restriction forbids presentation here of the evidence which, in the opinion of M. Bréhier, points to a survival of the protectorate for almost two centuries after the death of Charlemagne. It may be safely asserted, however, that as a whole this evidence is utterly incompetent; and in almost every instance it is so plainly irrelevant as hardly to require detailed refutation.⁶⁹ One point only, that which comes nearest to being pertinent, has any real claim to consideration.

To the general assembly held by Louis the Pious at Thionville in 831 came three envoys, two Saracens and one Christian, from the caliph Ma'mūn (813-833). They brought magnificent gifts including diverse kinds of perfumes and woven fabrics. The purpose of the embassy, according to the unanimous testimony of the sources, was to negotiate or confirm a treaty of peace between the caliph and the Western emperor.⁷⁰ There is nothing to prove that this treaty included recognition by the caliph of a Frankish protectorate in Palestine.⁷¹ On the other hand, it is clear that the hostile relations of Ma'mūn with the Byzantines and with the Umayyads of Spain could very well have induced him to reach the hand of friendship to the emperor of the Franks, who was likewise an enemy of the Umayyads, and in whom the Eastern emperors seem to have recognized a potential foe.⁷²

⁶⁸ A letter from Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem to Pope Leo III., which arrived after that of the Olivetan monks, and which was delivered to the pope by different messengers, does not request Charlemagne to extend his protection over Palestinian Christians, as some scholars have supposed. The true sense of this often misunderstood passage is given in Abel and Simson, II. 406 and n. 3.

⁶⁹ This is true not only of the evidence adduced for the tenth century, but also of that which is held to prove that the protectorate functioned "normally" ca. 867-870 (Bréhier, pp. 31-32, 35-36). The *Itinerarium* of Bernard the Wise (*supra*, n. 61) and the letter written in 869 by the patriarch of Jerusalem to the patriarch of Constantinople (J. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* [Venice, 1771], XVI. 26) indicate that the Saracen authorities in the Levant maintained good order and that they were disposed to be benevolent toward their Christian subjects so long as these remained loyal and submissive; but neither document contains the faintest allusion to a Frankish protectorate.

⁷⁰ *Annales Bertiniani*, 831 (ed. Waitz), *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* (Hanover, 1891), p. 3; *Vita Hludowici*, M. G. H., SS., II. 634; *Annales Xantenses*, 831, *ibid.*, p. 225.

⁷¹ B. Simson (*Jahrbücher des Fränkischen Reiches unter Ludwig dem Frommen*, II. [Leipzig, 1876] 11-12) denies the existence of the protectorate in the time of Louis the Pious.

⁷² *Cambridge Medieval History*, III. 6, 8. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, c. 16 (ed. Halphen, p. 50): "Erat enim semper Romanis et Graecis Francorum suspecta potentia. Unde et illud Graecum extat proverbium: 'Τὸν Φράγκον φίλον ἔχεις γελ-'

The sum total of the available trustworthy information on the relations of the Carolingian monarchs with the caliphs of Bagdad and the patriarchs of Jerusalem has now been set forth. Virtually all of this information comes from Frankish sources. We are reliably advised that on the entire subject there is no word to be gleaned from the contemporary Oriental writers, whether Mohammedan or Christian.⁷³ Must we then reject the Frankish testimony on the ground that it is not corroborated in the Oriental sources?⁷⁴ To do that would be to repose a wholly unwarranted reliance in the deceptive argument from silence. It may be admitted that the taciturnity of the ninth-century Mohammedan chroniclers on the diplomatic intercourse of their rulers with the Christian princes of the Occident is a challenging problem.⁷⁵ But without doubt Vasiliev has correctly insisted that the mere silence of those chroniclers does not

τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐχέει.'” The significance of this passage is increased if Einhard wrote it at some time between 830 and 836, as it seems very probable that he did (see *ibid.*, introduction, p. viii; Halphen, *Études Critiques*, pp. 98-103).

⁷³ See the reviews of Barthold and Vasiliev cited *supra*, n. 1, and *cf.* the article on Hārūn in the *Encycl. of Islam*, II. 271-272.

⁷⁴ Essentially this is the position of Barthold though he appears not to have consistently adhered to it. For according to F. F. Schmidt's review of his work (see *supra*, n. 1), Barthold, while he vigorously combats the credibility of the reported relations between the Frankish rulers and the caliphs on the ground that they are not mentioned in the Arabic sources, concedes the authenticity of the recorded interchanges between those rulers and the patriarchs of Jerusalem. In fact our knowledge of both sets of relations is derived exclusively from Frankish evidence.

⁷⁵ Some day Orientalists may undertake to find the solution of this problem. A possible starting-point for investigation is suggested by the well-known passage in the Koran (chap. V.) which forbids Mohammedans to enter into alliance with unbelievers (E. H. Palmer, ed. and transl., *The Qur'ân*, Oxford, 1880, I. 105): "O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and Christians for your patrons: they are patrons of each other; but whoso amongst you takes them for patrons, verily, he is of them, and, verily, God guides not an unjust people." The prohibition appears to have been more strictly construed by the Mohammedan legists in the time of the early Abbassids than it had previously been (*cf. Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV. 281), just as the Abbassid caliphs, in contradistinction from their predecessors, strongly emphasized the religious character of their rule (*ibid.*, pp. 275, 288). Barthold, in his review of Vasiliev's article (see *supra*, n. 1), indicates that a political alliance with the Frankish monarchs against the Spanish Umayyads would, in the second century of the Hegira, have been disastrous for the reputation of the Abbassids. But if such alliances were nonetheless concluded, is it not likely that, precisely by reason of the danger indicated, the Mohammedan chroniclers either lacked, or advisedly and discreetly suppressed, information concerning them? Anything like a strict interpretation of the Koran would, it seems, have precluded not only an actual alliance but even amicable diplomatic relations with a Christian state.

render the Western sources incredible, does not impair the intrinsic value of uncontroverted Frankish evidence.⁷⁶

There is, accordingly, no valid reason for doubting, as Barthold does, "that the persons who appeared at the courts of the Frankish rulers, Pepin, Charles, and Louis, really had the right to speak in the name of the caliph". The official character of these envoys is indicated not only by the uniform application to them of the term *legati*—their mission is called a *legatio*—but also by the fact that they are signalized either as the *legati Amormuni* (*Amir al-mumminin*)—i.e., of the Commander of the Faithful, the caliph⁷⁷—or as the *legati (Aaron) regis Persarum*. Charlemagne's envoys to Hārūn are likewise denominated *legati*.⁷⁸ But that term is never applied to the representatives sent either by or to the patriarch of Jerusalem,⁷⁹ these being usually referred to simply as monks or priests. The sources do not reveal what the specific business of the various embassies exchanged in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne was, but they do inform us that Ma'mūn's *legati* to Louis the Pious in 831 came to negotiate a treaty of peace. It is very unlikely that the envoys of the period prior to Louis the Pious were merely bearers of gifts and forwarders of polite but meaningless courtesies. And in view of the well-known contrariety of interests between the Frankish rulers and the caliphs on the one hand, the Byzantine emperors and the Umayyad emirs of Spain on the other,⁸⁰ it is difficult to conceive that the diplomatic exchanges of the two former could at any time have been devoid of political meaning. More than that can scarcely be said without entering the insecure realm of conjecture.

As for the patriarchs of Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that they held Charlemagne in high estimation. That fact is well attested by the benedictions, the relics, the keys, and the banner, that were showered upon the emperor in 799 and 800. But by the delivery of the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary together with the banner the patriarch did not either explicitly or implicitly place himself under the power or protection of Charles. M.M. Vasiliev

⁷⁶ See the reviews cited *supra*, n. 1.

⁷⁷ See T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 31-33.

⁷⁸ It seems unnecessary to repeat here the various references to the sources already given. But it should be noted that the Continuator of the *Chron. of Fredegar* (cf. *supra*, n. 5) calls Pepin's envoys *myssi*.

⁷⁹ The errand of the monks George and Felix in 807 is called *legatio Thomae patriarchae* simply to distinguish it from the errand of Abdallah; Abdallah, but not the monks, had the character of a *legatus* (*supra*, p. 253). The application of the term *legatio* to the errand of Abbot Dominic of Mt. Olivet in 826 (*Vita Hludowici*, c. 40, *M. G. H.*, SS., II. 629) is obviously pure courtesy.

⁸⁰ Cf. Bréhier, pp. 23, 27.

and Bréhier are doubtless right in assuming that the patriarch could not have ventured upon a step fraught with such deep political meaning without the prior consent of the caliph.⁸¹ There is no evidence that this consent was either sought or received. But the sources clearly and unanimously declare that the keys were delivered *benedictionis causa*. Whether the presentation of these symbolic emblems was intended to convey anything beyond a homage of respect and reverential regard, remains doubtful.⁸² On what errands the later representatives of the patriarch and of the Frankish monastic community of Mt. Olivet came to the court of the Western emperors, can only be surmised. It seems not unlikely that their mission was, in large part, to solicit alms.

From these facts and probabilities to a Frankish protectorate in Palestine is indeed a long and impossible journey. The foregoing study leads inevitably to the conclusion that such an institution was never established. It is a myth quite analogous to the legend of Charlemagne's crusade to the Holy Land. But the myth concerning the protectorate is of earlier origin than the legend of the crusade. Twenty years after the death of the great emperor it was already in process of formation. For even then Einhard erroneously, if not deceptively, stated in his *Vita* that Hārūn had placed the Holy Sepulchre within the power of Charles. Fifty years later the Monk of St. Gall, in his *Two Books concerning the Deeds of Charles the Great* (ca. 883 or later), a work which must be classed as imaginative literature rather than history⁸³ and which for that reason has probably had an even larger influence than Einhard's less exaggerating biography, wrote unblushingly that Hārūn had given into the power of Charlemagne "the land which was promised to Abraham and shown to Joshua"; to which assertion the pious monk discreetly added that the caliph had proposed to rule over the land as the representative of the emperor, transmitting, after the fashion of a faithful

⁸¹ Bréhier, p. 28.

⁸² Strange to say, no one seems ever to have suggested that Charlemagne may have wished to secure for his own Frankish clergy the privilege of being represented among the ecclesiastics of various nationalities who officiated at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We know that about the year 808 seventeen clerics *de imperio domini Caroli* served at this church (*supra*, n. 60). Must we not suppose that a previous arrangement had been made with the patriarch whereby certain rights were obtained for the Frankish clergy in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre? And may not the transmission of the keys, etc., to Charles have betokened the patriarch's consent to this arrangement? This of course is mere conjecture and a conjecture which presupposes another error or misrepresentation on the part of Einhard. But it is not so far-fetched nor so unfounded as the theory of the concession of a protectorate by the caliph.

⁸³ Halphen, *Études Critiques*, p. 142.

steward, the revenue of the province.⁸⁴ But while the myth of the protectorate had begun to flower before the end of the century in which Charlemagne died, another hundred years passed before the legend of his crusade to Palestine made its appearance.⁸⁵ Without attempting to follow the subsequent evolution of either,⁸⁶ we may note that though the latter gradually ceased to be identified with history after the fifteenth century, the former has in our generation been equipped with a more effective historical guise than it ever possessed in the past.

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⁸⁴ Monachus Sangallensis, *De Carolo Magno*, bk. II., cc. 8, 9 (Jaffé, *Bibl. Rer. Germ.*, IV. 674-679). Cf. the English transl. by A. J. Grant (*Early Lives of Charlemagne*, London, 1907), pp. 116-125.

⁸⁵ On this well-known subject, see Bréhier, pp. 37-38, and the references there cited. Bréhier's views on the protectorate have led him to overestimate the historical elements in the legend of the crusade.

⁸⁶ The twelfth-century *Annales Nordhumbrani* (800, *M. G. H.*, SS., XIII. 156) clearly indicate that the myth of the protectorate prospered during the period, and probably under the influence, of the Crusades. Cf. *supra*, n. 25.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND CONFEDERATE COTTON

ONE of the puzzling things in the economic and military history of the Civil War is the seemingly inconsistent attitude of the Union government regarding trade with the Confederacy. On the one hand it enforced a rigorous blockade of the Southern sea-coast to bar Southern cotton from the world markets, while on the other it connived at a more or less corrupt domestic trade in the same cotton smuggled across its own military lines. There were excuses for this policy. Cotton was needed to keep Northern factories in operation and also cotton had to be doled out for French and English mills to prevent active interference by those governments in aid of the Confederacy and free cotton. But it is the purpose of this paper to show that this policy, while undertaken for reasons of weight, nevertheless was a grave error of judgment on the part of the Federal government. Through this trade the morale of the Union troops was undermined, the Confederate army was supplied, and, because of the consequent prolongation of the war, needless suffering was inflicted on the people both South and North.

While the demand for cotton in the North to supply the war-time needs of the country was great and received serious consideration from Lincoln, the foreign situation claimed his closest attention. Affairs in that field were in a very critical condition. In England, by January of 1863, one-third of the cotton mills had shut down completely for lack of supplies and nearly half a million factory hands were out of work.¹ In France, because cotton manufacturing was not so important as in England, the distress, while acute, was not so general.² Yet the diplomatic situation there, as regarded the needed supplies for the factories, was much more strained than with Great Britain. In fact things came to such a pass that, in 1862, Thurlow Weed, one of Seward's unofficial representatives, thought that more than one government was getting ready to turn against the United States because of the need for cotton.³ The French minister for foreign affairs in two interviews with Weed told him emphatically that France must have cotton and that she looked to the North to get it for her in one way or another.⁴

¹ C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams* (Boston, 1900), p. 267.

² *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

³ F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington* (N. Y., 1890), III. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 85 and 86.

In addition to these reasons for allowing trade in cotton, another, based on humanity, developed during the war. As the Southern territory was occupied by Union troops large numbers of people were left destitute except for some cotton which they had stored away. Since they could not be left to starve they were allowed to exchange their cotton for the necessities of life.⁵ The Federal government therefore concluded that the trade in cotton should be encouraged as much as was safe. Secretary Chase, in a letter to his friend and subordinate, W. P. Mellen, stated the government's policy in regard to the trade. He said that he could "see no way in which safe intercourse can be established between citizens of the loyal states and those under insurgent control. The question is not one of revenue nor one of rights in a state of peace but a question of supplies to enemies. . . . The best thing to be done, as it seems to me, is to . . . let commerce follow the flag".⁶ This statement of the administration's views is borne out by the President's proclamation of August 16, 1861. By this the Southern states, with certain exceptions, were declared to be in a state of insurrection and all trade with them to be unlawful unless licensed by the President through the Secretary of the Treasury.⁷ So the government's policy may be summed up as follows: trade with inhabitants of districts occupied by Union troops was to be allowed under supervision so far as was compatible with military safety.

The laws passed by Congress on the subject, the executive proclamations, and the departmental orders which were issued in pursuance thereof were all intended to carry out this line of conduct. They were drastic and rigorous. Under them the needy planter inside the Union lines could obtain supplies in exchange for his cotton and the cotton went to satisfy the demands of the North and of Europe. All possible precautions were taken against fraud or injury to the service. The corruption that accompanied the commerce in cotton and the failure of the rules to function as was expected can not be ascribed to the laxity of the government nor to lack of care in drafting the regulations. The trouble arose from the difficulty of assembling the right kind of personnel. The successful handling of a process of this sort, where wrongdoing was not only easy but

⁵ J. W. Schuckers, *Life of Salmon P. Chase* (N. Y., 1874), p. 324.

⁶ May 29, 1861. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁷ The exceptions were Virginia west of the Alleghenies and such other parts of the Southern states as might maintain their loyalty to the Union or be occupied and controlled by the United States forces. *Commercial Intercourse with States . . . in Insurrection* (Washington, 1863), pp. 39 and 40. Hereafter referred to as *Commercial Intercourse Pamphlet*.

exceptionally profitable,⁸ called for a force of experienced men whose honesty was unshakable. Such a body of men can not be created by act of Congress and it was here that the administration's policy broke down.

As a rule the generals of the army, especially those of high rank, did what they could to carry out the policy of the government. Among the officers who labored zealously to enforce the rules and to prevent abuses four men are particularly noteworthy: Generals Grant, Sherman, Washburn, and Canby. General B. F. Butler, on the other hand, is the most notable example of an officer of high rank who was accused of corruption and of profitting by the trade. His attitude toward the matter is well shown by a letter to Reverdy Johnson written by Butler when in command at New Orleans. In this he said that he would "assure safe conduct, open market, and prompt shipment of all cotton and sugar sent to New Orleans, and the owner, were he Slidell himself, should have the pay for his cotton if sent here under this assurance".⁹ Nothing of this sort came from Grant or Sherman. The whole tone of their correspondence and orders was one of hostility to the trade and to traders. Orders from Washington directing that the commerce should not only be allowed but even facilitated¹⁰ were obeyed reluctantly though faithfully.¹¹ A note of rigid restriction runs through all of Grant's orders concerning the traffic, and when, in February, 1865, he was given entire charge of the matter he wrote General Canby telling him that he could use his own discretion but that in his, Grant's, opinion entire non-intercourse was the speediest way to bring about a permanent peace.¹²

General Sherman's letters and orders sound much like Grant's in their uncompromising opposition to the commerce in cotton. He forbade all dealing in it on his first Vicksburg expedition¹³ and both at Atlanta and at Savannah the trade was limited to that which was necessary to supply needy planters with food and clothing.¹⁴ General Washburn, who succeeded Grant and Sherman in command at Memphis, one of the most important centres of the trade, also did

⁸ Cotton was worth from ten to twenty cents a pound at the front and from sixty cents to one dollar a pound in the North. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁹ July 21, 1862. *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), ser. III., vol. II., p. 239. This work will be cited hereafter as *Official Records*.

¹⁰ Halleck to Sprague, Aug. 25, 1862. *Ibid.*, p. 460.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 163.

¹² Feb. 13, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. XLVIII., pt. I., p. 829.

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. I., p. 620.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXVIII., pt. V., p. 648; vol. XLVII., pt. II., pp. 52 ff.

what he could to restrict the cotton traffic, especially along the river.¹⁵ The successor to Butler at New Orleans, General Banks, found the situation there to be extremely difficult. The supervision of the cotton-trade was very lax and the department was rife with corruption. Furthermore, while Banks's integrity is unquestioned he was not a soldier by profession and was too much inclined to subordinate military needs to political considerations. Under his régime New Orleans was the market. All goods sent there could be freely sold for United States currency and plantation supplies could be taken out.¹⁶ When General Canby replaced Banks the tone of the correspondence affecting the trade changed at once. His attitude was one of hostility toward the traffic and he limited it as closely as the authorities at Washington would permit.¹⁷ Not until the end of May, 1865, when he removed all military restrictions on trade in the pacified districts, did his attitude change.¹⁸ But by this time the general policy toward the trade was to do away with restrictions and to get cotton out of the country and money and supplies into it as fast as possible.¹⁹

There was little trouble over the trade during the first year of the war, for it did not become important until the spring of 1862, when the fall of New Orleans and Memphis brought the Union armies into contact with the Southern cotton belt. These two cities at once became the principal shipping points of a commerce in cotton that spread with the progress of the Union arms throughout the southern part of the Mississippi Valley. The authorized trade²⁰ that followed was on a small scale; the latitude consisted for the most part in allowing farmers to bring their cotton into town and to sell it for supplies. It was encouraged by General Sherman at Memphis because it relieved the farmer's distress and showed him his dependence on the Union government.²¹ The Federal commander at Vicksburg, General McArthur, was more lax and allowed the cotton growers to sell their produce on the plantation to any author-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX., pt. II., pp. 22, 27, 170 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XV. 615, 649, 690, 691.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. II., pp. 534, 535, pt. IV., pp. 789 ff.; vol. XLVIII., pt. I., pp. 849, 1062, 1063.

¹⁸ May 29, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. XLVIII., pt. II., p. 650.

¹⁹ *E.g.*, *ibid.*, vol. XLVII., pt. III., p. 602.

²⁰ This trade was carried on under the law of July 13, 1861, which allowed the President to license individuals to carry on trade under regulations laid down by the Secretary of the Treasury. *Statutes at Large . . . of the United States* (Boston, 1863), XII. 257.

²¹ Nov. 8, 1862. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 861.

ized purchaser.²² This was undoubtedly one of the causes of the corruption that centred around this town.

The other legal method of bringing out cotton was through confiscation. In this the procedure usually followed was to seize in the name of the United States what cotton was available and to give receipts for it if privately owned. After the war the holder of the receipts, on proof of loyalty, would be compensated.²³ Cotton owned by the Confederate government was, of course, confiscated outright.²⁴ At Atlanta the rather high-handed position was taken that all cotton was tainted with treason and no private title in it would be respected.²⁵ Occasionally expeditions were sent out partly to intimidate the Southerners and partly to seize cotton.²⁶ On these raids any cotton found was taken without regard to ownership; the proceeds either went directly to the government or were used to indemnify loyalists whose property had been damaged by Confederates. An example of this was an expedition sent up the Yazoo River in March, 1865. On this raid 1728 bales of cotton were seized which were used to pay Unionists for property destroyed by guerrillas. The planters were warned that just as long as the guerrilla fighting kept up raids would be made on them.²⁷

The army was always on the alert for a chance to seize "C. S. A." cotton, for every bale captured was a direct loss to the Confederacy and was clear gain to the Union cause. The search for this continued after the close of the war. In such cases the trouble was caused by the former owners of the cotton, who, upon finding the bonds worthless for which their produce had been sold, were naturally loath to give it up. In May, 1865, there were about 200,000 bales belonging to the Confederate government in the Gulf states and while the civil officers of the Confederacy acted in good faith, the planters wanted to keep it.²⁸ The search for it near New Orleans was discontinued by the end of the month and it was stopped everywhere by September of that year.²⁹

²² Feb. 28, 1864. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 330.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. XLVII., pt. III., pp. 593, 602.

²⁴ This was cotton given to the Confederate government in payment for either bonds or taxes. It was generally known and hereafter will be referred to as C. S. A. cotton.

²⁵ Sept. 3, 1864. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXVII., pt. V., p. 778.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV., pt. I., p. 213, pt. III., pp. 18, 19; vol. XLVIII., pt. I., p. 553.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII., pt. I., pp. 183, 185, 320, pt. III., p. 36.

²⁸ Canby to Stanton, May 12, 1865. *Ibid.*, vol. XLIX., pt. II., p. 739.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 930; vol. XLVII., pt. II., p. 1168.

The illegal methods employed in getting out cotton included the fraudulent use of permits by traders, the sending out of government expeditions for private profit, and smuggling. An interesting glance at the workings of the first method is given in a letter from a planter named Stevenson to the Confederate Secretary of War. According to this letter General Butler, then in command at New Orleans, told Stevenson's agent that cotton could be sent to New Orleans for shipment to any port in the world and that supplies of an equal value, excluding munitions of war, could be taken out in return. Stevenson pointed out that the supplies could be forwarded to the Confederate army and the cotton could be placed to the credit of the Confederate government at some European port.³⁰ But this well-considered plan to run the blockade with the aid and consent of the Federal authorities failed, probably because of the removal of General Butler.

Butler's successor, General Banks, put an end to plans of this nature, but the illicit trade around New Orleans went on aided by permits granted by the Treasury agents. Mr. Dennison, the supervising agent, while probably honest, was so persuaded of the necessity of getting out cotton that he became careless as to the methods used. In one case a ship loaded with cotton consigned to a Mobilian at Havana was captured off Mobile by the Federal fleet. Those on board claimed that they were really going to New Orleans and showed a permit from Mr. Dennison allowing them to bring out cotton from the rebel lines and ship it to any port. Dennison, when questioned, declared that he had General Banks's authority for his action and that it made no difference whether the cotton came through a blockaded port or not, so long as it got to New Orleans. Rear-Admiral Bailey, of the blockading fleet, pointed out in his report that this was not only trading directly with the enemy but was also a virtual abandonment of the blockade. General Banks disavowed all connection with the affair and denounced it vigorously. He declared that he had merely allowed planters in the immediate vicinity of the city to exchange their produce for a limited amount of plantation supplies.³¹ While this is a very glaring case of the misuse of permits it is not unique. Constant complaints were made of the provisioning of the Confederate forces near the Mississippi River through the abuse of trading licenses.³²

Another method of defrauding the government that was much used consisted in selling to the Treasury agents, in the legal way,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, XV. 861.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI., pt. I., pp. 670, 702.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 647; vol. XXXII., pt. II., p. 259; vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 613.

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cotton that ostensibly was privately owned but really belonged to the Confederacy and was therefore subject to confiscation. This was the more easily done because private and "C. S. A." cotton were stored together at the gin and the only means of identification was through markings on the bales, which could be changed easily. Some of the army officers suspected the truth and protested against the practice. A Union officer denounced as a Confederate agent a buyer named Parkman³³ who had permits to purchase fifteen thousand bales of cotton when there were not fifteen hundred bales of private cotton in that district. The officer declared that the buyer was seeking goods belonging to the Confederacy.³⁴ By July, 1864, Baton Rouge was full of cotton, two-thirds of which was said to belong to the Southern government but which was all sworn through as the property of individuals.³⁵ The blockade had so reduced the Confederacy that by this time it was willing to sell its cotton to the United States and to take greenbacks in payment.³⁶

Probably the most harmful variety of this fraudulent trade in cotton was that carried on by the trade-boats plying up and down the rivers. They would clear from some town loaded with supplies and stay out for as long as forty days at a time, renewing their cargo from passing boats, entertaining Confederates, and trading with anybody and everybody. Both General Sickles and General Buford denounced the practice. They declared that it was semi-treasonable and no better than blockade-running.³⁷ The value of this trade to the Confederates is shown by the fact that even late in 1864, when every available man was needed at the front, they spared two regiments to convoy cotton to the river.³⁸

The Union cause was also harmed by the sending out of military expeditions ostensibly to forage and recruit but actually to bring in cotton. One of the worst examples was the Grand Gulf expedition under Brigadier-General A. W. Ellet which set out on February 15, 1864. The report of the officer in charge is very illuminating and his recapitulation is worth quoting. "To sum up, we marched 250 miles, injured our transportation, exposed our lives, got but few recruits, and as far as ending the war is concerned, we did just nothing at all; but, if anything, served to prolong it by assisting a lot of rebels

³³ Or Parkham; the *Official Records* give it both ways.

³⁴ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXIX., pt. I., p. 900; vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 629.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. II., p. 329.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX., pt. I., p. 900.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIV., pt. IV., p. 410; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., pp. 27, 60, 61.

³⁸ Earl's report, Nov. 24, 1864. *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 663.

and thieves to sell and get to market about 1515 bales of private, C. S. A., and abandoned cotton, and a lot of speculators, whose loyalty I very much suspect, in making fortunes.”³⁹ There are enough comments on these expeditions to show that this was but one of many where patriotic aims were used as a cloak to cover the enrichment of speculators and officers.⁴⁰ These “recruiting raids” not only forced the government to buy “C. S. A.” cotton which was legally subject to confiscation but, what was far worse, they injured the army morale. The officers and men were not fools; they knew that their superiors were conniving at these frauds, and they naturally wished to share the profits.

The other illicit method of bringing out cotton was by smuggling. For this unequalled advantages were offered by the Mississippi River with its numerous heavily wooded lagoons and branches. We hear from General Hurlbut of enormous smuggling around Memphis.⁴¹ General Emory asked Farragut’s aid in breaking up a nest of smugglers, on Lake Salvador near New Orleans, that was in direct communication with the Confederates.⁴² General Grant wrote Stanton that smuggling was carried on at Memphis and Helena and at every other place where trade was allowed within the disloyal states.⁴³ Because of the remarkable facilities offered by the great river for running goods it was probably impossible to prevent it.⁴⁴ The Union officers certainly failed in spite of their utmost efforts.

After the cotton was obtained the next question was whether it should be paid for in specie, in greenbacks, or in supplies. The Southerners naturally wanted specie, but this was forbidden by the Union officers in Tennessee. They ordered that the remuneration should be in Treasury notes.⁴⁵ Owing to the demand for cotton, however, the Secretary of War directed that the payment of gold should not be prohibited.⁴⁶ This aroused General Sherman’s ire and, in a letter to Secretary Chase, he pointed out that, if this were allowed, it would be impossible to keep munitions of war out of the Confederacy.⁴⁷ His protest evidently had its effect, for, in less than

³⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 400, pt. III., p. 624.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 796; ser. IV., vol. III., p. 382.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XXII., pt. I., p. 230, pt. II., p. 757.

⁴² *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI., pt. I., pp. 598, 702.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, ser. III., vol. III., p. 721.

⁴⁴ J. C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (N. Y., 1901), p. 261.

⁴⁵ Aug. 7, 1862. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XVI., pt. II., p. 284; July 25, 1862, *ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 123.

⁴⁶ Aug. 2, 1862. *Ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 150.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ser. III., vol. II., p. 349.

a month, Treasury regulations prohibiting the payment of specie for cotton were promulgated.⁴⁸ Despite the rules the use of gold persisted, and Grant advised that, in order to prevent this evil, all cotton should be bought by the government at a fixed price and that all traders should be driven out of the war zone.⁴⁹ His advice was not followed until the fall of 1864, when the Treasury regulations⁵⁰ of September 24 ordered that all cotton should be purchased by government agents, and further directed that only one-third of the value of the cotton should be paid for in supplies.⁵¹ The restrictions on the use of specie remained in force until the end of the war and were not everywhere removed until the middle of July, 1865.⁵² The change in policy on the part of the Federal authorities shown by making the trade a government monopoly was so effective that Generals Ma-gruder and Kirby Smith of the Confederate army both thought that the business was no longer profitable, and advised that the "C. S. A." cotton should be burnt.⁵³ Evidently General Grant's reasoning was sound.

After the cotton was bought and paid for the next thing was to get it to the markets. The easiest way to do this was to use government transportation, and the traders at once endeavored to avail themselves of this extremely handy cartage. The military authorities forbade such use of army property for fear of injury to the service,⁵⁴ though one officer thought that he could make some money for the government by allowing the speculators to use the wagons and making them pay well for the privilege.⁵⁵ When the authorities took over the purchase of cotton, the use of military wagons for its transportation was allowed if the army was reimbursed for any expense incurred, and if the commanding officer thought that it would not hurt the service.⁵⁶ These rules defined the legitimate use of government vehicles, but throughout the war charges were made that some

⁴⁸ Aug. 28, 1862. J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

⁴⁹ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 424.

⁵⁰ Issued by Secretary Fessenden under the Morrill Act of July 3, 1864. *Statutes at Large*, XIII, 376, 377.

⁵¹ *Rules . . . concerning Commercial Intercourse with . . . States in Insurrection* (Washington, 1872), pp. 139 ff. This work will be cited hereafter as *Commercial Intercourse Rules*.

⁵² *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XLIX., pt. II., p. 1080.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., pp. 1025, 1093.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XVI., pt. II., p. 80.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XVII., pt. II., p. 120.

⁵⁶ *Commercial Intercourse Pamphlet*, p. 53.

officers were, for their personal profit, allowing private cotton to be carried on army wagons.⁵⁷

Another troublesome problem that confronted the government, before the business became a monopoly of the Treasury Department, was the choice of traders. For obvious reasons the authorities tried to have none but loyalists act as cotton buyers. In some localities where the secession element was strong only Union men were allowed to sell cotton, for fear that otherwise the secessionists would monopolize the market.⁵⁸ Generally speaking, however, the loyalty of the sellers was not investigated too closely, beyond requiring the oath of allegiance. The chief emphasis was placed on the sentiments of the buyer.⁵⁹ When, according to the regulations of July 29, 1864, trade-stores were established in the pacified districts, it was required that they should be kept by loyalists, and the kind of supplies as well as the amount per month that the stores could handle was limited.⁶⁰ The purpose in establishing them was to supply the residents of a district with the necessities of life in such a way as to be of no aid to the Southern cause. While the plan was good, like everything else it was subject to abuse, and many of the supplies from the stores went straight to the Confederate troops, to the great detriment of the Union cause.

The traffic in cotton which has thus been considered attained great dimensions during the war. According to Chase's biographer it "reached at the least an aggregate of two hundred million dollars".⁶¹ The regulation of the trade required hundreds of men, but the volume of business was so great that the fees derived from it made it self-supporting.⁶² While it was not of much importance until the spring of 1862,⁶³ it increased to such an amount that by the spring of 1864 enough cotton went north to provide for the manufacture of all the goods that could be sold at the prevailing prices and it was thought that a surplus would be left for exportation.⁶⁴ The surplus, if any existed, was not large, for only 53,000 bales of cotton were sent to Europe from June 30, 1861, to June 30, 1864, slightly more than one per cent. of the amount sent over in the two years preceding.⁶⁵ The

⁵⁷ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXII., pt. II., p. 714; vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 395, pt. III., p. 39.

⁵⁸ Columbus, Ky., May 13, 1864. *Ibid.*, vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 26.

⁵⁹ *Commercial Interchange Rules*, p. 67.

⁶⁰ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXIV., pt. IV., p. 455.

⁶¹ J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁶³ J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 260; M. B. Hammond, *The Cotton Industry* (N. Y., 1897), p. 262.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

value of the supplies that went south seems well-nigh incredible. In the spring and summer of 1864 goods worth \$118,000 went through Natchez in two months, and at Memphis the merchandise sent south amounted to \$500,000 a week.⁶⁶ Senator Chandler made the statement in the course of debate that "from Memphis alone between twenty and thirty million dollars' worth of supplies have gone into the hands of the rebels".⁶⁷ Such statements as these help to substantiate Schuckers's estimate of the size of the trade and to explain the difficulty in handling it.

Because of the profits speculators were very anxious to engage in this traffic.⁶⁸ They became centres of corruption. They infested the army, where their effect was worse than if they had been spies,⁶⁹ for they suborned the officers and, passing through the army lines, furnished the Confederates with supplies and information.⁷⁰ The corruption of the officers and consequent demoralization of the men spread throughout the troops until, according to one investigator, nearly every officer was in partnership with a cotton-trader and every soldier dreamed of adding a bale of cotton to his month's pay.⁷¹ Even the Confederates remarked upon the mania for cotton-trading among the Yankees. They declared the Federal officers to be in league with the traders. One Southerner said that the commanding officer at Vicksburg, General McArthur, not only had to be bribed to allow cotton to pass through the town, but had held up certain expeditions for two weeks because the Confederate agent had told the cotton contractors that he would be unable to supply them with cotton if the expeditions were made.⁷² Senator Ten Eyck certainly had good grounds for stating in his speech on the Morrill Act that if he were to mention the facts brought out before the committee the cheeks of every American senator would tingle with shame.⁷³

Severe as was the test put upon the integrity of the army officers the honesty of the Treasury agents was even more tried and, as was to be expected in a newly created service, many of them could not stand the strain. There seemed to be no sure way of judging what a man would do. Men with unblemished reputations would go into the service and under the stress of temptation would yield, others

⁶⁶ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXXIX., pt. II., pp. 60, 196.

⁶⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., p. 3324.

⁶⁸ J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁶⁹ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXIV., pt. III., p. 118.

⁷⁰ J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁷¹ C. A. Dana to Stanton. *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. LII., pt. I., p. 331.

⁷² *Ibid.*, ser. IV., vol. III., p. 282; ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. III., p. 796.

⁷³ *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2823.

with not so good a past record would come out of the ordeal untarnished.⁷⁴

The trade was entirely non-partizan in its corrupting influence. It demoralized the Confederate as well as the Federal service. This is shown by some proposals to get C. S. A. cotton out of the western Gulf states, which were made early in 1864 by officers in the Southern army to General Banks. According to one scheme the Confederate officers west of the Mississippi were to turn over to the United States government all the C. S. A. cotton in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. It would amount, Banks thought, to 200,000 bales. All the proceeds were to go to the government except eighteen cents a pound, which was to be paid to the Confederates when the Federal officers were satisfied that it would be used only for their private and personal benefit. The other plan differed in that it involved only 15,000 bales of cotton and that \$100,000 of the amount due was to be paid at once, the balance being held until it could be paid without possible injury to the government.⁷⁵ (At eighteen cents a pound, \$100,000 would be less than ten per cent. of the amount due.) Evidently there were Confederate as well as Union officers who were willing to feather their nests at the public expense. Whether or not all cotton was tainted with treason it was certainly accompanied by corruption. Complaints were also made by the Southern officers against the private citizens around Baton Rouge and Memphis who went into these cities and took the oath of allegiance so that they could trade. In many cases, it was said, they took their cotton in merely for speculation and to give the Yankees information. Many Southerners took the oath in order to secure their property.⁷⁶

All the Northern military leaders agreed that the effect of the trade on the Union army was very bad. The cotton runners acted as spies and rendered secrecy of movement next to impossible. When expeditions were pending that might result in the capture or destruction of cotton the traders would pass the word to the Southerners so that the raid would be foiled. The supplies paid for the cotton went to feed, clothe, and equip the Confederate forces and greatly lessened the value of the marine blockade.⁷⁷ General Grant thought that any trade with the Confederacy weakened the Union forces one-third and, according to Admiral Porter, the trade as carried on under the regulations of September 11, 1863, would enable

⁷⁴ J. W. Schuckers, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 ff.

⁷⁵ Feb. 2, 1864. *Official Records*, ser. III., vol. IV., pp. 68 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. III., p. 634; vol. XXXIV., pt. II., p. 924.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXII., pt. II., p. 15; vol. XXXIV., pt. III., p. 185; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 22.

the South to continue the war indefinitely.⁷⁸ In a speech in the Senate, Senator Ten Eyck said that the trade had prolonged the war and strengthened the South. Through it the Confederacy had obtained not only supplies but also money and munitions. In some quarters military and naval movements had been made with more intent to seize cotton and carry on trade than to strike at the enemy.⁷⁹

In considering the effect of the traffic on the Confederacy the Southern leaders realized that it caused a great deal of corruption and demoralization in the army,⁸⁰ but nevertheless thought that it was necessary in order to supply the troops. The Confederate Secretary of War declared that unless some cotton was allowed to go north he would be unable to feed the soldiers through the winter of 1862.⁸¹ The business was looked on as an important source of supply and the officers wished it to be made as productive as possible.⁸² The value and kind of supplies that the Confederacy wished to get by means of the trade is shown in the applications from Southerners for permission to take cotton through the lines. They promised to bring out not only clothes and salt but also fire-arms and ammunition.⁸³ The president of the Mississippi Central Railroad asked for permission to get railway supplies from the North in exchange for cotton so that the road could continue operations.⁸⁴ The Union officers realized this condition of affairs; we find both General Brayman and General Sickles not only attributing the success of Forrest's raids to the accumulation of supplies along his line of march, but even declaring that to be their motive.⁸⁵ Lieutenant Earl, a special scout, reported that when he was in Confederate uniform many leading Southerners had told him of the help their cause received through the commerce in cotton.⁸⁶ General Banks thought that the Confederacy had been greatly strengthened through the traffic.⁸⁷ According to General Canby, if it was carried on as the speculators in control wished, it would give the South aid equal to 50,000 men. In his opinion the Confederate armies on both sides of the Mississippi were sustained

⁷⁸ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXIV., pt. III., p. 538; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 61.

⁷⁹ *Congressional Globe*, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

⁸¹ *Official Records*, ser. IV., vol. II., p. 15.

⁸² *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XLV., pt. II., pp. 637, 639; J. C. Schwab, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁸³ *Official Records*, ser. I., vol. XXIV., pt. III., p. 177; ser. IV., vol. II., p. 854.

⁸⁴ W. Goodman to General L. Polk, Jan. 7, 1864. *Ibid.*, ser. IV., vol. III., p. 9.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, ser. I., vol. XXXII., pt. I., p. 512, pt. III., p. 233; vol. XXXIX., pt. II., p. 60.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., p. 663.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, XV. 695.

through the trade in cotton.⁸⁸ There seem to be good grounds for the statement that cotton was the most efficient instrument that the South had for obtaining the supplies necessary to carry on the war.⁸⁹

While neither the extent of the corruption that accompanied the trade nor the great aid that it would give the Confederacy could have been foreseen by the Union government, still the authorities realized that from the military point of view the wisest plan was to prohibit all intercourse with the South. Nevertheless, for what they considered good and sufficient reasons, they had insisted on the policy of letting the trade follow the flag. Were they justified in their action? Should any commerce have been allowed? In order to answer these questions it must be remembered that the traffic was permitted by the North partly to supply the New England mills but principally to obtain cotton for export to Europe to relieve the international situation. The first object was fairly well attained but the second was not, an export of 53,000 bales being but a drop in the bucket. Yet, as no intervention took place, this end was gained through other means. On the international side, then, the plan failed. The domestic situation was relieved, it is true, but was this relief worth what it cost? Judging from the statements of the officers, if all trade with the South had been cut off from the start the Confederate armies would have been forced by lack of supplies to yield at least a year earlier than they actually did. It would seem better to have had almost any amount of temporary suffering among the New England mill-hands if thereby Grant's campaign of attrition in the Wilderness, or Sherman's terrible march through Georgia and the Carolinas could have been averted. From our viewpoint it seems evident that permitting the trade was a gigantic mistake and that the true policy of the Union would have been to forbid all intercourse with the South.

A black picture of corruption and venality has been drawn in the preceding pages. But corruption is common to all nations in time of war. Weak natures break down under the test of fire. War brings out what is best and worst in man. A high patriotism and a lofty courage go side by side with the grossest venality and most debasing cowardice. It is a singular phenomenon that a man may not be above making money out of his nation's needs yet in time of stress may be willing to die for his country.

A. SELLEW ROBERTS.

⁸⁸ Dec. 7, 1864. *Ibid.*, vol. XLI., pt. IV., pp. 785 ff.

⁸⁹ J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1850-1877* (N. Y., 1896-1906), V. 411.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH PRINTED SOURCES FOR THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

THE extensive pamphlet literature which appeared in England during the early years of the Thirty Years' War is important rather as a proof of public interest in the fortunes of Frederick and Elizabeth of Bohemia than as a source of information. The greater number of these pamphlets are translations from Latin, German, or French, and many are printed in the United Provinces. News of the war did not appear at regular intervals until the end of the year 1620; at least there is no proof of a news service before that date. Curiously enough, the first weekly English newspapers, or "corantos" as they were called, were printed in Amsterdam, Alkmaar, and the Hague.¹ They are single folio sheets, printed on both sides, and bear the name of the Dutch publishers. Their foreign origin is quaintly illustrated by the information printed on one that it is "to be sould by Petrus Keerius, dwelling in the Calverstreete in the uncertaine time". It is extremely probable that when in September, 1621, Nicholas Bourne, the well-known London stationer, began the publication of his weekly *Corante, or News from Italy, Germany, Hungary, Spain, and France*,² he was imitating the Dutch model. These translations of Dutch and German news-sheets were also printed in folio. A change to the quarto was made in the following year, and, in this form, Bourne, together with Nathaniel Butter and Thomas Archer, continued the publication of weekly "currantes of newes" until 1632. Charles I. was so jealous of the victories won by Gustavus Adolphus without England's assistance that "gazettes, and pamphlets of news from foreign parts" were suppressed by order of the Star Chamber.³ Butter and Bourne were licensed⁴ to renew publication in 1638 and their news-pamphlets appeared until the eve of the Civil War. The despatches in these early newspapers are headed, as in our own, with the place of origin and the date.

¹ Eighteen numbers have been reproduced from the originals by P. van Stockum under the title, *The First Newspapers of England, Printed in Holland 1620-1621* (the Hague, 1914).

² British Museum, c. 55, e. 2.

³ Order of the Council, Oct. 17, 1632, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1631-1633, p. 426; Gardiner, *History of England*, VII. 206.

⁴ Warrant, Dec. 20, 1638. *Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1638-1639, p. 182.

So long as the reporters confined themselves to events happening in the city from which they wrote accurate information was furnished. The rest was mere conjecture and rumor. So we find, in the Amsterdam paper of December 2, 1620, the following despatch from Cologne dated November 24: "that the Duke of Beyren should have any folk within Prague, is yet uncertaine, there-uppon under the merchants with us, in Neurenberge are laid many 100 Florins that the Emperour, nor the Duke of Beyeren have no folk within Prage."⁵ The victorious forces of the emperor and the duke actually entered the city on November 9!

No attempt was made to compose an English narrative of the events of the Thirty Years' War until 1623, when Edward Grimestone wrote a continuation of the *Imperial Historie, or the Lives of the Emperours*. Besides the English pamphlet-literature, Grimestone made use of the contemporary German historians Lundorp⁶ and "Gothardus";⁷ and the "French Mercurie". In describing military events, he only once cites an eye-witness, when a "discreet gentleman" gave him an account of the battle of the White Hill (1620). In telling of the circumstances attending Frederick's acceptance of the Bohemian throne, he also informs the reader that he has received his information from "a worthy judicious knight in those parts". Although not printed until 1653, *The History of Great Britain, being the Life and Reign of King James the First*, by Arthur Wilson, should be mentioned here, for the historian accompanied Sir Horace Vere to the Palatinate, and wrote an interesting first-hand account of the campaign of 1620.⁸

Of far greater importance than the above works is *The Swedish Intelligencer*, printed in four parts in 1632 and 1633 for Butter and Bourne.⁹ It is evidently the work of a single author, generally be-

⁵ P. van Stockum, *op. cit.*

⁶ *Imperial Historie*, pp. 783-784.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 760, 827. Probably Gotthard Arthus, author from 1603 to 1626 of *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, a news-periodical printed in Cologne.

⁸ *The History of Great Britain*, etc., pp. 136-139.

⁹ *The Swedish Intelligencer*, *The first part . . . from his Majesties First Enttring into the Empire, untill his Great Victory . . . at the Battle of Leipsich . . . 1632*; *The Swedish Intelligencer, The Second Part . . . from the Victory of Leipsich, unto the Conquest of Bavaria . . . 1632*; *The Swedish Intelligencer, The Third Part . . . from the Norimberge Leaguer, unto . . . the Victory of Lutzen, With the Election of the Young Queene of Sweden: and the Diet of Heilbrun . . . 1633*; *The Swedish Intelligencer, The Fourth Part, Relating the Chiefest of those Military Actions of the Swedish Generalls: wherein the King himselfe was not Personally with the Armie . . . 1633*. There is a bibliographical note on *The Swedish Intelligencer* and its continuation, by J. Frantz, entitled "Ein Englischer Bericht über den Dreissigjährigen Krieg", in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie*, August Wilmanns . . . gewidmet (Leipzig, 1903).

lieved to be Dr. William Watts, a learned scholar of his day.¹⁰ He is very frank in giving the sources of his information. First there are "the papers of an honourable personage; a Commander of prime credit and activitie, with that victorious King. Wee", he continues, "have beene made to understand much of these Actions, by discourse with another gallant Gentleman: and he also a great Commander in the Army. Some printed High Dutch bookes we have had. For some things we have had private writing, and from good hands too. In other things we have made use of Gallobelgicus:¹¹ especially where he deales upon publick Record, and where we thought the poore man durst speake freely: Some times, sure, he writes but by Commission; and is everywhere sparing in reporting the Emperours losses. And yet in this", magnanimously remarks our author, "to take away all exception we have followed him too; notwithstanding wee by others found greater numbers and defeates, specified. Very good use have wee made of the Weekly Currantoes too: which if a man of judgement reades, he shall for the most part finde (especially of latter times) very true, and very punctuall. Whosoever will be cunning in the Topography of Germany, and would understand these warres, let him not despise Currantoes. All this, lastly hath passed the allowance of a Gentleman (of the best judgement and intelligence for these matters) in the Kingdome."¹²

The greatest value of *The Swedish Intelligencer* naturally must lie in those portions written on the authority of actors or eye-witnesses of the events described, and it is therefore worth while discussing a few of these. The battle of Breitenfeld (September 7, 1631)¹³ has been the subject of careful and painstaking research, and yet the most recent of its historians finds scarcely any informa-

¹⁰ See article in the *D. N. B.* The claim of Watts is based on Anthony à Wood's statement that he wrote "The History of Gustavus Adolphus" and that "He hath also published the several numbers of News Books in the English tongue (more than 40) containing the occurances done in the wars between the King of Sweden and the Germans. All published before the civil wars of England began". *Fasti Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss), part I., p. 383. Though without authority, the British Museum assigns the authorship of *The Swedish Intelligencer* to Sir Thomas Roe, while Mrs. Green in her life of *Elizabeth of Bohemia* (ed. Lomas), p. 289, n. 2, refers to the manuscript of *The Swedish Intelligencer*, by Roe. However this reference (Harl. MS. 7010, f. 228), is incorrect, and I have been unable to find the manuscript.

¹¹ *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*, the German news-periodical. The portion covering the years 1628-1634 is by J. P. Abelin, author of the *Theatrum Europæum*. See article on Abelin in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

¹² "Preface to the Reader", *The Swedish Intelligencer, the First Part*.

¹³ The dates throughout are old style.

tion concerning the part played by the brigades of Vitzthum and Hepburn.¹⁴ A detailed account, however, is given on the authority of Lieutenant-Colonel Muschamp of Colonel Lumsdell's Scots regiment which formed a part of Hepburn's brigade.¹⁵ One can well understand that the attack on the Imperialist infantry by the Scots brigade, and the rout of the enemy, gave Gustavus Adolphus great satisfaction.¹⁶

An event of some interest, because of the peculiar circumstances attending it, is the capture of Hanau on November 1, 1631, by a Swedish and German force commanded by Lieutenant Christopher Hubald. The incident is carefully examined in a history of Hanau during the Thirty Years' War.¹⁷ An influential party of the burghers and the Count of Hanau himself were favorable to Gustavus Adolphus. One of the burghers, Daniel De Latre, by a well-timed feast given to Major Brandeis the commander of the citadel, prevented the giving of the signal which was to bring a body of Tilly's troops into the city. As a result of the dinner, the worthy major was in no condition to perform his part.¹⁸ There are two varying contemporary accounts of Hubald's seizure of the town on that same night. According to one, he stormed first the "Altstadt" and then the "Neustadt"; and Major Brandeis was at once taken prisoner. The second account tells of a lull before the attack on the "Neustadt" during which time Hubald negotiated with Brandeis and induced him to surrender. The modern historian accepts the first and rejects the latter account.¹⁹ Turning now to *The Swedish Intelligencer*, we find that the story is told by a son of Daniel De Latre, "a merchant now living in London" who "was at that time with his Father in Hanau".²⁰ Here we find substantially the account rejected by the modern historian. So also in the accounts given of the capture of Oppenheim (December 7-8, 1631),²¹ the storming of

¹⁴ W. Opitz, *Die Schlacht bei Breitenfeld* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 109-110.

¹⁵ "The Famous Victorie of Leipsich" (or Breitenfeld) is printed in *The Swedish Discipline* which was bound with *The Swedish Intelligencer* when the four parts appeared as one book in 1634.

¹⁶ R. Monro, *His Expedition*, etc. (1637), II. 66.

¹⁷ R. Wille, *Hanau im Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Hanau, 1886).

¹⁸ Wille, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-63, 612-625.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64, 625-638.

²⁰ *The Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. II., pp. 22-26. According to his son, the elder De Latre was one of the negotiators. The taking prisoner of the Count of Hanau, rejected by Wille, is accounted for as follows: "This was done in a seeming good earnest, to put off all suspicion of a plot, from him."

²¹ *Ibid.*, pt. II., pp. 43-49, 141-149. "Mr. Robert Marsham, who personally accompanied Colonel Hebron [Hepburn] in all these Actions" is the authority cited (*ibid.*, pt. II., p. 46).

Kreuznach (February 18–20),²² and the famous assault on the “Alte Veste” (August 24),²³ *The Swedish Intelligencer* gives important information. Wherever the author relies on friends who took part in the campaigns, the work should be given a high place as an original authority on the military history of the Thirty Years’ War.²⁴ The work was continued under various titles to the year 1639,²⁵ though the author is no longer the same. It is still a good contemporary history, lacking however the first-hand knowledge of its original numbers.

What may well be called the first British regimental history appeared in 1637 from the pen of Robert Monro. *Monroe his Expedition with the Worthy Scots Regiment, called MacKay’s Regiment*, is a Scottish officer’s account of his experiences in the service first of Christian IV. of Denmark, and then of Gustavus Adolphus. The book is too well known to demand a detailed criticism. Atten-

²² *The Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. II., pp. 77–83. “The Story whereof wee have received, partly from a Letter written by a Scottish Commander unto my Lord Reay: and partly from the Relation by word of mouth made by Sir Jaacob Ashlye, at his late being in England.”

²³ The king of Sweden’s assault on the fortified hill, the “Alte Veste”, adjoining Wallenstein’s camp at Fürth, is the subject of a monograph, *Geschichte Altenbergs und der Alten Veste bei Fürth*, by G. T. C. Fronmüller. The author has used Harte’s *History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus* (1759), who in turn appears to have utilized *The Swedish Intelligencer*. Compare *The Swedish Intelligencer*, pt. III., pp. 43, 45–46, with Harte, II. 240, 244–245.

²⁴ Droysen writes: “Wir dürfen unbedenklich sagen, dass unter den ungefährgleichzeitigen Bearbeitungen über Gustav Adolfs deutschen Krieg der *Swedish Intelligencer* weitaus die beste ist. Nur dass er um desswillen nicht auch die beste, nicht einmal dass er eine gute Quelle für diese Zeit zu sein braucht. Dass man das Werk für eine Quelle nehme beansprucht sein Verfasser nicht einmal.” (*Die Schlacht bei Lützen*, p. 216.) Droysen is particularly concerned here with its value as an authority for the battle of Lützen; but he is, I believe, unfair to those portions of the work to which I have called attention.

²⁵ Short titles are as follows: *Germany, The Continuation of the German History, The Fifth Part . . . 1633; The History of the Present Warres of Germany, A Sixth Part . . . 1634; A Supplement to the Sixth Part of the German History . . . 1634; The German History continued. The Seventh Part . . . 1634; The Modern History of the World, The Eight Part . . . 1635; No. 1, The Principall Passages of Germany, Italy, France, and Other Places for these Last Sixe Monethes Past . . . 1636; No. 2, The Continuation of the Actions, Passages, and Occurrances, both Politike and Polemicall . . . 1637; Diatelesma, No. 3, The Moderne History of the World . . . 1637; Diatelesma, The Second Part of the Moderne History of the World . . . 1638; Diatelesma, The Fifth Part or Number . . . 1639.*

The library of Columbia University possesses a set of *The Swedish Intelligencer* and its continuation with the exception of the last number, which is to be found only in the British Museum. But the British Museum lacks *A Supplement to the Sixth Part*.

tion may however be called to its peculiar composition. After the discharge of each military "dutie" an "observation" follows filled with classical and Biblical analogies and moralizings. When not engaged in fighting the soldier appears to have read widely.

The ruin of Germany, after years of continual warfare, is nowhere better described than in the modest pamphlet by William Crowne, gentleman,²⁶ who accompanied the Earl of Arundell on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor in 1636. From Cologne the ambassador and his train were towed up the Rhine in a boat drawn by nine horses, "by many villages pillaged and shot down". At Bacharach "the poor people are found dead with grass in their mouths". The party entered Rudesheim where they saw "poor people praying where dead bones were in a little old house, and here his Excellency gave some relief to the poor which were almost starved as it appeared by the violence they used to get it from one another". At Mainz the ambassador found it necessary to stay on shipboard for his meals, for there was "nothing in the town to relieve us, since it was taken by the King of Sweden, and miserably battered". There was such a rush for the food sent from the ship that people pushed each other into the river in their eagerness to obtain some of it. From Cologne to Frankfort, Crowne tells, "all the towns, villages and castles be battered, pillaged or burned". Passing up the Main through Würzburg, they arrived at Neustadt, "which hath been a fair city, though now pillaged and burned miserably, here we saw poor children sitting at their doors almost starved to death, to whom his Excellency gave order for to relieve them with meat and money to their parents". Travelling through the Upper Palatinate, they passed "by churches demolished to the ground, and through woods in danger, understanding that Crabbats²⁷ were lying hereabouts". They had dinner at a little village called Heman "which hath been pillaged eight-and-twenty times in two years and twice in one day, and they have there no water but that which they save when it raineth". Reaching the Danube they continued the journey by boat, still meeting with ruined villages and people seeking relief.²⁸

²⁶ *A True Relation of All the Remarkable Places and Passages observed in the Travels of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Howard, Earle of Arundell and Surrey, etc.*, by William Crowne, gentleman (London, 1637). William Crowne, according to Oldys, was the father of John Crowne, the Restoration dramatist. D. N. B.

²⁷ I.e., Croatsians.

²⁸ Crowne, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-17.

Other pamphlets²⁹ appeared to tell of the horrors suffered by the civilian population; but none can compare with the sober account given by Crowne.

ELMER A. BELLER.

LINCOLN AND MEADE AFTER GETTYSBURG

MR. GEORGE H. THACHER, president of the City Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., sends the following communication, conveying statements which he received from the late Robert T. Lincoln, and to which he believes that Mr. Lincoln desired that publicity should be given, although he did not precisely say so. He says that Mr. Lincoln gave him this information one summer day, when they were playing golf at Manchester, Vermont, that the following summer he asked him, under similar circumstances, to repeat the story to him, and that he recorded its substance immediately, but did not make it public during Mr. Lincoln's life, because he feared it might involve him in invitations to a correspondence he would be unable to undertake.

After the Battle of Gettysburg, heavy rains had swollen the Potomac to such an extent that the rushing waters had carried away the bridge at Williamsport. This fact placed General Lee in a perilous situation, for it was by this avenue that he must escape the Federal forces, if he were to escape at all. Meade's army, a portion of which was made up of 40,000 trained veterans, greatly outnumbered that of Lee. Of the situation President Lincoln was early and fully aware, and his sagacity led him to appreciate the golden opportunity that then presented itself for speedily bringing the war to a favorable conclusion. Referring to this war-time crisis, Mr. Robert T. Lincoln told me as follows: "Entering my father's room right after the Battle of Gettysburg, I found him in tears, with head bowed upon his arms resting on the table at which he sat. 'Why, what is the matter, father', I asked. For a brief interval he remained silent, then raised his head, and the explanation of his grief was forthcoming. 'My boy', said he, 'when I heard that the bridge at Williamsport had been swept away, I sent for General Haupt and asked him how soon he could replace the same. He replied, 'If I were uninterrupted I could build a bridge with the material there within twenty-four hours and, Mr. President, General Lee has engineers as skillful as I am'. Upon hearing this I at once wrote Meade to attack without delay, and if successful to destroy my letter, but in case of failure to preserve it for his vindication. I have just learned that at a Council of War, of Meade and his Generals, it had been determined not to pursue Lee, and now the opportune chance of ending this bitter struggle is lost.' What I tell you, George", Mr. Lincoln impressively continued, "are the facts in the case, Nicolay and Hay, and all others, to the contrary notwithstanding." Had

²⁹ P. Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany* . . . (London, 1638), is illustrated.

Meade obeyed his instruction Lee no doubt would have been compelled to surrender. As it was the war was to be carried on, and more lives were to be sacrificed. The President was bitterly disappointed and expressed his feeling in a letter which he penned subsequently, and still later suppressed.¹ While there may have been political reasons sufficiently weighty to modify extreme censure of Meade, nevertheless the magnanimity of the President, in withholding knowledge of his positive order to Meade, rose to a height wholly commensurate with the greatness that characterized Abraham Lincoln. Many inferences may be drawn from what is here related, controversies, perhaps, engendered, but whatever may ensue there can be no question as to the immobile truth contained in the recital of the above incident by Robert Todd Lincoln.

GEORGE H. THACHER.

¹ Text in Nicolay and Hay, VII. 280-281.

DOCUMENTS

Major-General Henry Lee and Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith on Peace in 1813.

ON June 18, 1812, Congress declared war on Great Britain. A few days later, a Baltimore newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, having published vigorous denunciations of the war, a mob made a violent attack upon its house. Friends of the editors defended it, under the direction of Major-General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry" of the Revolutionary War). At the jail, to which these Federalist defenders were conducted for safety, they were again attacked by the mob, which broke into the building, killed one of their number, a Revolutionary veteran, and inflicted upon General Lee (as upon several others) very severe injuries, from the effects of which he never recovered, dying in 1818. In the spring of 1813, under medical advice to seek recuperation in the West Indies, he was enabled to go to Barbados, despite war-time conditions, through the good offices of President Madison and of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren, then commander-in-chief on the North American station. President Madison and he had been born but a few miles apart in Virginia, had served together in 1787 as delegates of that state in the Continental Congress, and had not been fatally estranged by subsequent political differences. In the biographical sketch which General Robert E. Lee prefixed to his edition of his father's *Memoirs of the War* [of the Revolution] in the Southern Department of the United States (New York, 1869, p. 54), there is printed a letter from Lee to Madison, dated Barbados, August 24, 1813, expressing his gratitude to the President and to Admiral Warren for making possible his voyage, and sending the President Madeira and a green turtle.

Lieutenant-General Sir George Beckwith was governor of Barbados from 1808 to 1814, and commander-in-chief of the military forces in the Windward and Leeward Islands, in which capacity he conquered Martinique in 1809 and Guadeloupe in 1810, but he is best known to American readers as informal representative of British diplomacy in the United States in the period just preceding the appointment of a regularly accredited British minister. In that capacity he paid five visits to this country in the period from 1787 to 1791. Their history may be traced in the appropriate portions of the Canadian Archives Report for 1890, in Professor Bemis's *The*

Jay Treaty, and most succinctly in a memorial of Beckwith to Dundas, June 20, 1792, printed in an appendix to that volume.¹ As Henry Lee attended the Continental Congress in New York in both 1787 and 1788 as a delegate from Virginia,² it is very likely that his acquaintance with Beckwith began at that time.

The following documents are from the British Public Record Office, C.O. 28: 82.

I. BECKWITH TO BATHURST.³

Confidential

BARBADOS 26th Novem'r 1813.

My Lord,

I have the honor to submit Six Inclosures, numbered from One to Six, to Your Lordship's consideration.

These Papers disclose a correspondence that has passed between General Henry Lee of Virginia, and myself, on the subject of Peace, which might perhaps have been declined by me with propriety in the first instance; but having neither sought nor shunned it, and conceiving it now brought to a close, I feel it my duty to report what has passed.

I have already mentioned to Mr. Goulburn,⁴ that General Lee came to this Government about the end of June last, with strong recommendations from Sir John Warren and from Colonel Barclay⁵ and I have extended towards him every countenance and protection to which his ill Health, general Character, and Introduction entitled him; but I apprehend he will never recover those wounds and bruises, especially about the Head, which he received from the Baltimore Rioters. He remains here for the present.

I have the honor to be with great respect, etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

Earl Bathurst

II. LEE TO BECKWITH.

"More recently the true Policy of the British Government towards the United States, has been completely unfolded. It has been publicly declared by those in power, that the Orders in Council should not be repealed, until the French Government had revoked all its internal restraints on the British Commerce, and that the Trade of the United States with France and her Allies should be prohibited, until Great Britain was also allowed to trade with them. By this declaration it appears, that to satisfy the pretensions of the British Government, the United States

¹ Pp. 275-277.

² *Journals* (ed. 1823), IV. 738, 840.

³ Henry, third Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

⁴ Henry Goulburn, M. P., was under-secretary of state for war and the colonies; later he was one of the commissioners representing Great Britain at Ghent, and was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

⁵ Col. Thomas Barclay, British consul general at New York from 1799 to 1812, was British agent for prisoners of war in the United States from his appointment on December 11, 1812 (landed in New York, April 1, 1813), until September, 1814.

must join Great Britain in the War with France, and prosecute the War, until France should be subdued."

My Dear Sir,

The above is taken out of the Report of the foreign Committee to Congress,⁶ which Report may be deemed the harbinger of our deplorable War.

The Allegation against the British Government is so extraordinary, that I cannot bring myself to believe it possible, and as I am anxious to inform myself accurately upon the subject, I take the liberty of asking from you its solution.

With unchangeable respect and real regard

I have the Honor to be, Your Excellency's etc.

HENRY LEE.

8 Sept. 1813.

Sir Geo. Beckwith

III. BECKWITH TO LEE.

BARBADOS 12th October 1813.

My Dear Sir,

Your note of the 8th of September, subjoined to a short extract of a Report of a Committee of Congress, on your Foreign Relations, but which, you delivered to me personally, upon the 9th Instant, I cannot reply to, from the want of the requisite information.

It may be observed, in general terms, that no just opinion can be formed of a paper of this sort, by a reference to a short extract. It is necessary to peruse the whole, attentively, in order to ascertain with precision, its real object. I am inclined to think from what you have given, that this report is published by your Government, as an answer to the late Memorial or Petition of Massachusetts,⁷ and with a view to draw away the public feeling in the Eastern States, and of many enlightened Individuals in other parts of the Union, from the origin of the War, the mode in which it has been conducted and its real objects; and it appears to be the wish, to excite an Alarm in New England, respecting the carrying Trade and even the Fisheries, in both of which great objects, that industrious and persevering People, are deeply interested.

I should think the great work of peace, far from a difficult object in the hands of Men, who will be pleased to divest themselves of passion and listen to the dictates of reason. The sound Principle seems to be, that nothing should be asked on one side, that would not be conceded on the other, in return.

Has the United States, a rising Maritime Power, and actually such at this hour, no permanent interest, in claiming the exclusive Services of her Native Eastern Seamen?

If principle did not forbid it, and was it not impracticable in its execution, I would as a matter of profit and loss, give you all *our* *Renegades*, in exchange for *your* Young New England Seamen, who are

⁶ Calhoun's report to the House of Representatives made on behalf of its Committee on Foreign Relations June 3, 1812, printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 570.

⁷ Memorial of June 2, 1812, printed in *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1 sess., col. 259.

numerous, and as fine Young Men, as I ever saw. Yet are *you* the Aggressors in this War, in which you have nothing essential to gain, and much, very much to lose; in a war, where failure is disgrace, and success destruction—the loss of Liberty and the introduction of Military Tyranny.

I have the honor to be etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

General Henry Lee.

IV. LEE TO BECKWITH.

BARBADOS 10th November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

My reflections on the sad and wanton war, waged by my Country against yours, make me wonder and weep by turns.

These agitating sensations were latterly tranquilized by the presumption, that our Ministers sent to St. Petersburg,⁸ would under the Mediation of Russia, have restored Peace and intercourse; but unhappily for both Nations, my fond hope turns out illusory.

It seems indubitable, that our Embassadors are on their voyage home, without having advanced one step towards Peace; and war, with its iliad of woe, must consequently continue to embitter and destroy two kindred People, disposed to preserve and perpetuate, mutual amity and good will.

What aggravates the National and Individual ills which grow out of the War, is, that really the acknowledged object, can never be effected, without the destruction of one of the Parties, an event impossible, and if practicable to be deprecated by the Civilised World, especially by the United States.

This concise statement, of our condition and prospects leads to one conclusion, namely, that no effort ought to be left unessayed, to put an end to Calamity alike grievous and destructive.

I am persuaded you will agree with me in my conclusion and that you would cheerfully lend a helping hand to perpetuate the good work.

To me it appears certain, that every obstacle in the way of pacification would be readily surmounted, if those authorised to negotiate were single minded, candid and sincere.

Your Country openly and explicitly avows her determination to seize her own subjects, whenever found employed in neutral Vessels: at the same time with equal explicitness avows, that she will never knowingly take our Seamen, and that whenever this shall happen, which sometimes must, from our resemblance to each other, the sailor shall be restored the moment his nativity is proved. We do not pretend any right to the use of your subjects, and only wish the exclusive use of our own Citizens.

These Principles brought into Action, will produce Peace.

Your Government will I presume cheerfully admit them as the basis of a treaty between the Two Countries and although mine may not cordially relish such conclusions of the war, it must in conformity to the will of the nation acquiesce. It is an easy task to draft a Treaty embodying these Principles, followed by all the minor details, necessary to give them full and faithful execution.

Would to God I could be assured that Great Britain was willing to stop the war, as I verily believe her to be, in the manner suggested, in-

⁸ Gallatin, Adams, and Bayard.

firm as I am, I would hasten to my Country and hasten back to you, with the wished for Answer, which I am persuaded would be in the Affirmative.

Your own solicitude to shut the door of the Temple of Janus, will I am sure be my adequate Apology, for the Freedom with which I have addressed you.

Accept my best wishes for your Health and Happiness and believe me to be with the highest respect and regard

Your Excellency's etc.

HENRY LEE.

Sir Geo. Beckwith

V. BECKWITH TO LEE.

BARBADOS 15 November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I have read with particular attention, your letter of the 10th Instant, which accords so much with my sentiments, in its general feeling and principle, that I judge it unnecessary to do more, than to refer you to mine, addressed to you upon the 12th of October last, on the important subject of our correspondence.

An honorable Peace is most devoutly to be wished for, but the wish must be mutual and sincere. Irritating Language and harsh measures towards unoffending Individuals, not in Arms, increase the difficulties of Approximation and convey an impression, that the Policy of your Administration, is founded on a desire to widen the breach and to excite a general spirit of animosity, amongst the Young and the high minded, whose feelings, in early Life, glow with an ardent sense of Glory, and a powerful love of Country—Whilst I, who view every drop of Blood, shed on either side, as a sacrifice to Tyranny, am filled with amazement, that the general voice of your discerning Country, does not speak a language, not to be misunderstood, which would lead to a cessation of the war, and to a fair adjustment of our differences.

These are the opinions of a private Man, on this great Question, but they are the result of reflection and considerable local knowledge, and if the Gentlemen to whom your Country has thought proper to confide the direction of its Councils, are now actuated by an honest desire, for the restoration of Peace, I think early measures might be adopted to stop the effusion of Human Blood and to employ Persons of high and enlightened Characters, to take up this most important subject in the language and the spirit too, of the most perfect conciliation and Peace.

I have the Honor to be etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

Genl. Henry Lee.

VI. LEE TO BECKWITH.

BARBADOS 16th November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I duly received the answer which your Excellency has been pleased to give to my last letter. In it, I find confirmed the sentiments expressed in your favor of the 12th of October with the solacing declaration, that early means might be found, to stop the effusion of Human Blood, and that Peace might readily be effected, "in the language and spirit of the most perfect conciliation" provided my Government "was actuated by an honest desire" to accomplish the important and desirable end.

From my personal knowledge of the President and Secretary of State, with both of whom, I held various conversations, before my departure from Home, on the subject of Peace, I can venture to assert, repugnant as may be appearances, that no event is more dear to the President's heart, than the immediate restoration of Peace on honorable Terms. By the latter expression, I mean not to intimate that Doctrines inadmissible on the part of Great Britain will be contended for, but that Peace will be sincerely sought, compatible with the Principles always claimed by your Government, and which are not only sanctioned by immemorial usage, but vitally affect the existence of your Nation.

Let these Principles be made to bend in practice, to Humanity and Moderation and perpetuate amity, rather than excite discord between our Countries.

To delineate with more precision my opinion, I subjoin on another Paper, a sketch of a Treaty, confined to the main point of controversy between us, dismissing all minor Matters, as the latter can be easily settled in the hour of pacification.

The three topics of dispute which led to our declaration of War, were, orders in Council, the mode of Blockade, and impressment of our Seamen—a fourth seems now edging in, effect of naturalization. This we will pass over, hoping that it will never be introduced, if it is, it must be put to rest. The orders in Council are at rest, as is blockade, but having aided in leading to the War, it is politic to glance at them. This consideration I entreat, and when you amend my sketch, which I pray, erase, change, curtail or amplify.

My Wish is to produce a just and agreeable Plan of restoring Peace, in which I know your superior Talents and experience can greatly contribute.

I have always found that whenever we urge the adoption of a measure, especially of magnitude, it is prudent to present the mode of effecting the end, as it brings the Parties to the more immediate consideration of the proposition, and smoothes the difficulties which ever more or less encompass the endeavours of Man.

Do my Dear Sir, turn your mind to our blood stained Nations and lead in returning the sword to its scabbard.

With the highest respect and regard, I have the Honor to be etc.

HENRY LEE.

Sir Geo. Beckwith, K. B.

First Inclosure containing the Heads of a Project for a Treaty.

After the common ceremonial is put down

Proceed

Whereas the blessings of Peace ought always to be restored, when to be effected with due regard to mutual honor and mutual interest, We do determine and agree, that the existing war shall terminate in every quarter of the Globe as soon as the present Treaty shall be mutually ratified and at the times following that Act, on the days hereinafter specified.

The Orders in Council on the part of Great Britain, being one of the alleged causes of the War, declared by the United States, before the repeal of the said Orders was known to its Government, cannot now be considered as a Topic of discussion, having been repealed.

In like manner may the Question of Blockade, another alleged cause of the War, be considered as put at rest, in as much as the signification of Blockade as claimed by Great Britain, comports with the principle avowed by the United States.

There remains then only the impressment of Seamen to be discussed.

To wave every possible Topic, whose discussion might confound or delay the conclusion of Peace, so sincerely desired by both the contracting Nations, it is agreed that the right to impress Seamen, the Citizens of one and Subjects of the other from private Vessels belonging to either and from neutral Vessels shall remain To each Nation—But, that principles to be specified in the Treaty, shall govern its exercise, and so long as the object in view shall thereby be effectually executed, both nations will abstain from practising the right of impressment, to be resumed by either and both, whenever the end in view viz, the exclusive use of their respective Seamen, shall not be practically secured. To give effect to the said Principles Laws shall be passed, at the first Sessions of Congress and of Parliament, making among other Things, the owner of the Vessel and Cargo, and Captain of the said Vessel, responsible in heavy damages by the Captain, for every individual found in such Vessel, the Citizen or Subject of either nation, as the case may be; also making it the duty of the owner and Captain of every Vessel, when clearing out from the Ports of either Nation, to give into the Custom House, a roll of the Crew, specifying the name and place of Birth, of each Man inrolled, which shall be signed and retained, and an official Copy thereof be given to the Captain, to be submitted by him to the proper Officers at the Ports said Vessel may enter, who may examine the Crew and may detain any Individual or Individuals found to be erroneously enrolled, and furthermore shall legally proceed against the owner or Captain, or both, as provided and directed by Statute, made and provided in such case.

It is further agreed and declared, that as soon as the ratification of this Treaty, on the part of Great Britain shall be known to the Government of the United States, orders shall be forwarded to the Commander in Chief of its Armies, stopping Military operations and relinquishing all Posts it may hold in Canada, every part of which shall be given up forthwith and the Territory of each Nation shall comport to the Statu quo ante Bellum.

In like manner, The Government of Great Britain, shall on ratification of the Treaty transmit Orders to the Commanders of its Army and Fleet in America, to desist from offensive operations of every sort the moment a Copy of the ratification by the Government of the United States, shall be officially announced to them.

Second Inclosure

My vexatious wound is closing without pain. My anxiety to try the Sea for a week or two continues, and as Mr. Beverley, by the last account is seriously sick, I may if I find a conveyance go to him.

Whatever letters you may honor me with, will be, I am sure my best protection, and will be thankfully received. You know that I am incapable of abusing the Hospitality given to me.

VII. BECKWITH TO LEE.

BARBADOS 18th November 1813.

My Dear Sir,

I was favored yesterday with your letter of the 16th Instant, and with its two accompanying Inclosures, one of which contained the heads of your project for a Treaty, the other your short Note, respecting the state of your health.

Under my impressions of the condition of affairs, betwixt our two Countries, as they appear to exist, to the 8th of October; I confess I did not flatter myself, that your administration, which eagerly sought the war, had ever evinced, even in its declarations, public or private, anything of a pacific spirit, nor did the Russian Mediation, seem to me a proof to the contrary; for the measure of sending Ministers to St. Petersburg, on such an object, when Powers existed in the Chesapeake to suspend Hostilities, had more the aspect of a procrastinating Policy, to watch the events of the War in Europe, than an honest change of system, by the restoration of Peace.

Your declaration, however, to the contrary, in so far as respected the President and the Secretary of State, founded on your conversation with both, convinces me, that they were pleased to hold a different language to you, before your departure from Home; yet, true it is, that pacific overtures were made to your administration, which included Mr. Maddison and Mr. Munroe, both by Sir John Warren and by Sir George Prevost, which were peremptorily rejected.⁹

It should seem natural, therefore, if any change shall have since arisen, of a pacific tendency, on the part of your Government, that it should be made to appear to be the case, all our sincere endeavours, in the first instance to avert, and subsequently to suspend Hostilities, having proved ineffectual.

I do not feel justified in entering into details, but this is a secondary object; provided the intention should be truly pacific in both sides, I cannot think great difficulties will occur on this point, if conducted by honorable minds competent to the subject.

You justly observe "that the orders in Council are at rest"; they were indeed an ostensible, but not the real cause of the War; "and that the blockading system is admitted by your Government under certain Modifications".

The question of impressment of Seamen we have been most explicit upon; whilst we possess a Man of War, it can never be abandoned; but we admit the right to be perfectly reciprocal and we have no desire to infringe it. It may therefore be mutually secured by Regulations.

I shall feel happy, if since your departure from the States, no measures of a contrary tendency, may have been adopted by your administration, but it strikes me that Mr. Mason's Circular letter, dated Washington the

⁹ The overtures made by Sir John Warren may be read in Warren to Monroe, September 30, 1812, in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, III. 595. It will be seen from Monroe's reply, which follows, *ibid.*, that they were not "peremptorily rejected". Similarly, Sir George Prevost's proposals, for an armistice on the Canadian frontier, made in early August, were in fact accepted by General Dearborn, with unfortunate results to Hull. *Some Account of the Public Life of Sir George Prevost* (London, 1823), p. 37; H. A. S. Dearborn, *Defence of General Henry Dearborn*, p. 6.

31st of May last and addressed to all the Marshals¹⁰ asserted indeed, to be "a modification of a former order, with a view to indulgence" is in fact a detainer "on all British Subjects, according in principle with the French *detenu*", but milder in its execution; yet the mitigations evidently proceed from interested motives, distinct from considerations of Humanity. This important letter professes to regard Alien Enemies and consequently emanates from the office of the Commissary General of Prisoners of War; but it is in truth a state Paper, on the part of your Government, regulating the naturalization of our Subjects, by Municipal Authority.

We claim in common with every Independent Nation, more especially France, the Allegiance of all our People. We deny their right to alienate it; and will never concede to any Foreign Power, the exercise of doing so, by Municipal Regulations.

In these opinions, I write from the best of my belief, as a private Man, but without any Authority whatever.

Such is my train of thinking on this great question. That you entertain an earnest desire for the restoration of peace, I firmly believe, and that you join me in opinion, that it would be difficult for any Statesman, in either Country, to assign a good reason for the continuance of this war, I entertain little doubt, but I can go no further than I have done.

I learn with real satisfaction, that your distressing wound is closing up. I strongly recommend your not trifling with it, surrounded as you are, by our Medical Officers, and by Surgeons of the first reputation.

I shall endeavour to afford you every protection, of which my situation and the times shall admit, for your comfort and security whenever you will point out to me, specifically, the route you mean to take, and your ultimate destination.

I have the Honor, etc.

GEO. BECKWITH.

General Henry Lee.

VIII. BECKWITH TO BATHURST.

Confidential

BARBADOS 24th March 1814.

My Lord

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of Your Lordship's Despatch of the 10th of February last marked Confidential; General Lee had quitted this Government for Porto Rico on his return to the American States, before it reached me, and I possess no means of further intercourse.

I have the honor to be with great respect, My Lord

Your Lordship's

most obedient and

most humble Servant

To

The Right Honorable
Earl Bathurst

GEO. BECKWITH.

¹⁰ Not found.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Writing of History. By JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, WILLIAM CORTEZ ABBOTT, Professor of History in Harvard University, CHARLES W. COLBY, and JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, Professor of History in Smith College. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1926. Pp. xii, 143. \$1.50.)

WITHOUT the preface of this book the reader would be puzzled to know why it should be termed the report of a committee. It contains no body of facts, no conclusions, and no recommendations to which all the members of the Committee on the Writing of History subscribe. For reasons which are not stated each has presented his views in a separate chapter, leaving to Professor Bassett the delicate task of tying them together. He has been an adroit editor, giving at least a semblance of unity to a considerable diversity of opinion. The reader will notice, he points out, that one chapter tells how and why the writing of history has fallen from its former high estate; that another chapter discusses the craftsmanship of the historian and its essentials; and that still another recounts the shortcomings of graduate courses in training future historians. No member assumes any responsibility for what the others have written, but all seem to be agreed that historical writing in America is badly done, and that something should be done about it.

M. Jusserand's chapter on the Historian's Work is full of fine sentiment, holding up a lofty ideal and stating admirably what we should all like to be and do, but it contains few suggestions of practical value. He and his associates are well aware, indeed, how hard it is to discuss matters of style and form and not be platitudinous. One trenchant comment on the use of historical proofs however is worth pages of wise discourse on abstract ideals. "The proofs, the references, the discussions of most points", he observes, "should be put at their proper place; that is, in the notes and appendices. The cook has to peel his potatoes, but he does not peel them on the dining-room table." Due consideration of this elementary truth would go far to improve the literary quality of most doctoral dissertations.

Discussing the training of graduate students, Professor Abbott insists that their faults as writers are due in large part to lack of proper training and intelligent reading. "The whole stress has been laid too much on information and on the methods of investigation, too little on presentation." Those who have taught graduate students in history will be disposed to agree with Professor Abbott's insistence on the necessity of wide reading and thoughtful study of the best historical literature. A

sense of literary value comes only by immersing oneself in the best that has been done. It may be, as Professor Abbott contends, that one of the best ways to achieve this end is by introducing in every graduate school a course in historiography.

Nothing could give more point to Professor Abbott's observations than the delightful chapter which Dr. Colby has contributed to the book. In its allusions to historical literature, it bears witness in every page to the sources which have molded Dr. Colby's style. But even he confesses to a certain helplessness when he approaches the matter of practical suggestions. His own remarks seem to him "when itemized to look like a string of platitudes". "None the less", he says truly enough, "a platitude is often a *neglected* truth." And the platitude upon which he dwells is this: that most historians do not take pains enough with their writing—are guilty of a willful neglect of the literary vehicle. Scholarly research, painstaking investigation—yes—but after and beyond all this, attention to presentation. "While the gift of style is possessed by few, the value of most historical works would be increased if their authors tried seriously to express themselves with impact."

So far as the craftsmanship of historians bred in our graduate schools is concerned, M. Jusserand's observation is true, that in America there is nowhere that training in precision and clarity of statement which the French boy receives almost from childhood. "The American 'prentice historian . . . does not grow up so habitually as in France, for instance, in a *milieu* where such traditional disciplines of the mind are practised." So long as men go into our graduate schools who have not lived from childhood in the atmosphere of good literature, they can hardly be expected to become masters of literary expression.

One assertion in this intriguing volume seems to me open to question. I do not find any "unvarying testimony that history is less read to-day than formerly" (p. 94). On the contrary the evidence seems to me to point the other way. Professor Bassett himself alludes later (p. 115) to "the increased interest in history" which "has produced a stronger call for men to teach and write it"; and he declares his belief that "during the last forty years the number of men and women writing history in the United States has largely increased". In the year following the great war the publication of histories actually exceeded the output of fiction. I doubt if there is anything comparable to this in all the nineteenth century—even in the golden age of Prescott and Motley and Irving. At the present time, moreover, history, including biography, stands a respectable third on the list of books published in the United States. There is some exaggeration, too, in arguing that in this golden age of historians the writing of history was more profitable. Prescott, it is said, received seventy-five hundred dollars in cash the day his *Conquest of Peru* went on sale; Irving, over forty thousand dollars for the American edition of his histories, etc. These are dazzling returns, but, if I am credibly informed, they pale into insignificance beside the royalties which are pour-

ing into the pockets of the writer of a certain notable biography recently published. The sales of a certain series of histories with which I have an intimate acquaintance, even in the most expensive edition, have exceeded sixteen thousand sets. And as for the writers of outline histories—but perhaps they do not qualify as historians! The truth of the matter seems to be that more bad histories and more good histories are being published than ever before and that the number of readers is probably both absolutely and relatively larger. There is discouragement as well as cheer in the thought!

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Art of History: a Study of Four Great Historians of the Eighteenth Century. By J. B. BLACK, M.A., Professor of Modern History, University of Sheffield. (London: Methuen; New York: F. S. Crofts. 1926. Pp. viii, 188. 7 s. 6 d.)

THE four historians chosen to illustrate the art of history in the eighteenth century are Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. The author has taken pains to know, very well indeed, the works of these writers, and he has obviously reflected to some purpose on the illusive subject of "history" and the various ways of writing it. The result is four informed and discriminating essays, well worth reading by any one who is interested either in these particular historians, in the nature of history, or in the thought of the eighteenth century. Little has been written about Robertson, or about Hume as historian, which may be why Professor Black's essays on these two struck me as especially fresh and illuminating. Excellent as his essays on Voltaire and Gibbon are, he has perhaps said nothing new about either. But then wouldn't it be extremely difficult to say anything new about them? All the world has written about Voltaire, twice over; and Walter Bagehot once wrote an essay on Gibbon.

Professor Black's book would be worth while if it were nothing more than four unrelated essays about four historians. But the essays are not unrelated. The subject of the book is not historians but "history", more especially the "art of history", by which is meant the conscious effort to select and co-ordinate and present the facts of the past in such a way that they may have meaning and significance for us now living. In a thoughtful and discriminating introduction Professor Black assures us that history is not a "science", that the facts do not "speak for themselves", and that "history for history's sake" is a played-out game. As a young man I was encouraged to look forward hopefully to the day when, all fields of history having been "definitively" done and presented in properly dull and documented monographs, the final synthesis could be made. Wondering what historians would do then, I secretly hoped that day would not come in my time. It hasn't. It hasn't come yet, and Professor Black seems to say that it never will, that each generation, exploiting the past for its own purposes, will see the past in a different

way. He quotes Buckle, who said the same thing long ago. He finds no difficulty in pointing out the subjective influence that shaped the work of even the most objective of the nineteenth-century historians—for example, the work of von Ranke, Stubbs, Mommsen. Well, the point is that the subjective purpose of the *philosophes* in writing history is even more obvious, precisely because they were conscious of it, admitted it, boasted of it in fact. "They conceived that they held a trust for humanity, not only to delineate faithfully what happened in the past, but also to weigh it in the balances of the present, to assess its value, and to discriminate between what is culturally worth remembering and what is not." History, they said in effect, is the record of human experience. The business of the historian is to disengage from that experience those acts, ideas, customs, and institutions which have won the approval of mankind, and which, for that reason, may be taken as possessing a universal value, as being in some sense in harmony with the nature of man. Thus history, properly studied, should come powerfully to the aid of reason in discovering those "natural laws" upon which enlightened men would consciously build the ideal society.

The chief value of Professor Black's book—the thing which gives it a certain unity and justifies the title—is in indicating how the eighteenth-century interest in history was connected with the general social philosophy of the time, and how this interest and this philosophy gave a certain character to the works of men so different in other respects as Voltaire, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon.

CARL BECKER.

Church Historians. Foreword and index by PETER GUILDAY.
(New York: P. J. Kenedy. 1926. Pp. vii, 430. \$2.75.)

THE title of this readable and instructive volume of biographical and critical essays might lead one to expect more than the authors intended. The publishers' statement that the book is "the history of historical study in the Catholic Church" is absurd. It makes no such attempt. It is not, like Fueter's or Gooch's books, a general discussion and history, but a somewhat unsystematic group of essays on some historians. The titles are as follows: Eusebius, Orosius, St. Bede the Venerable, Ordericus Vitalis, Las Casas, Baronius, Bollandus, Muratori, Moehler, Lingard, Hergenröther, Janssen, Denifle, and Pastor. These biographical essays were read at a meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association last December. It is proposed some time to give another similar symposium when other historians will be discussed. If the future collection contains as good sketches as those on Moehler, by Dr. Leo F. Miller, or on Hergenröther, by Dr. Herman C. Fischer, to mention two of special interest, the volume will be welcome.

In the execution of the present work there is much inequality. The authors apparently had different conceptions of what was expected. The treatment of the more modern men is best. Some are the only extended

biographical sketches available in English. Each essayist has attempted to give the general philosophical point of view of his subject and his conception of historical work. Some of these seem more modern than historically convincing. At times, a little of the panegyric might have been spared; at times the hagiographical style has not been successfully avoided. It is well to know that all these men were good men and pious, but historical merits might have been analyzed more critically. The toning down of extravagant statements and strong language and the forced correction of errors are not quite the same as keeping a work abreast of science. Denifle's less well-known and probably more valuable works have been analyzed and discriminatingly appraised. But the grievous faults of temper and judgment which Denifle's coreligionists have long since deplored in his *Luther und Luthertum* are not mentioned. The ability of Janssen has been recognized on all sides, but that he had any serious defects as an impartial historian, and that his great work is often only an excellent and useful *ex parte* statement can only be guessed from occasional phrases.

There are some good bibliographical references which will be found useful, though occasional slips are to be found. Thus Plummer did not edit the works of Bede but only his *Opera Historica*. Fueter's *Historiographie* may have appeared in a French translation (Paris, 1914), but it certainly appeared in German (Munich and Berlin, 1911). Some of the essays are provided with foot-notes. It would have been well if they had been used more in all the essays, especially where quotations are made which are often without any reference. On the whole the tone of the book is admirable. The characterization of non-Catholic historians is almost always courteous. Human nature is apt to remain human nature. But except in a few places the *odium theologicum* has been well suppressed. Dr. Guilday, who provides the book with a foreword and edits the volume, will probably be able, in a fresh collection of similar essays, which it is hoped will appear, to bring about more uniformity of treatment.

J. C. A.

De Legationibus Libri Tres. By ALBERICO GENTILI, with a translation by GORDON J. LAING, Professor of Latin, University of Chicago. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1924. Pp. 38a, 231; 37a, x, 208. \$5.00.)

It was due to the efforts of the late Professor Holland that Alberico Gentili (1552-1608) was given a conspicuous place among the fathers of modern international law. Just what that position really should be, considering Grotius, remains even yet to be determined, but Holland made great claims for his Oxford predecessor in his *Inaugural Lecture*

at Oxford (1874) and in his edition of the *De Jure Belli* (1877). In the series of Classics of International Law have properly been included works by Gentili, first the posthumous *Hispanicae Advocationis Libri Duo* and now the treatise concerning the ambassador. Gentili's *magnum opus*, the *De Jure Belli*, remains as yet without an English translation.

The first volume of the present edition comprises a photographic reproduction of the Latin edition of 1594, printed at Hanau, with an introduction in French by the late Professor Nys. The second contains an English translation of Nys's introduction and Professor Laing's version of the Latin text, the first English translation. The edition of 1594, here used, was the second, the first, in quarto, having a London imprint, 1585. Possibly the first Hanau edition (there was a second in 1607) was chosen because it was accessible. It is not a specimen of printing otherwise worthy of photographic reproduction. Nowhere in Nys's introduction are we given the bibliographical data which we have the right to expect. Indeed not much is to be said in favor of Nys's introduction. It was written in 1920, shortly before his death, and certainly adds nothing to what Holland had printed in 1874, but at least Nys had a good French style, which is utterly lost in the clumsy literalness of the English version.

As to Professor Laing's translation it is readable and convincing as to its accuracy. One may question now and then his universal rendering of *jus gentium* by international law. Certainly in a number of instances it might well have been rendered as the universal law, for while Gentili did use the term as denoting the legal rights and duties between states, the context shows that this meaning was not always in his mind, particularly when distinctions are made between *jus gentium*, *jus naturale*, and *jus civile*. Gentili had a clumsy Latin style, perversely so, it would seem, for he held those jurists in contempt who cultivated a Ciceronian manner (here may be one reason for his neglect since Grotius was professedly Ciceronian); furthermore he lacked orderliness so that this work gives the impression of a preliminary draft rather than of a finished product. His illustrations are nearly always taken from Greek and Latin writers and when one comes across a modern instance it is with a refreshing sense of discovery. He was unfortunately "induced to give preference to ancient customs . . . by the consideration that those which now obtain are commonplace and familiar to all" (p. 61). Yet it was the Mendoza case of 1584 which gave rise to this work, written in the following year, and turned Gentili's attention to international law. In that case Gentili had expressed an opinion that Mendoza should be dismissed and not punished for his complicity in the plot against the queen. It was Sir Philip Sidney, he asserts, who suggested that he go more fully into the subject of the ambassador, his functions, rights, and duties. To Sir Philip Sidney he dedicates the work, and in the final chapter, in which the perfect ambassador is described, he closes with the judgment that the excellent pattern set forth could be found in one man

only, Sir Philip Sidney. Aside from this interesting personal association, the work now reproduced is valuable because it is Gentili's earliest effort in international law, and because, while it is upon a subject upon which much had already been written, a fresh and modern point of view is indicated, and, finally, it discloses Gentili's political and juristic prepossessions: anti-monarchomach, rigidly civilian in theory to the point of absolutism and yet anti-papal—qualities altogether having a good Tudor flavor.

J. S. REEVES.

Les Premières Civilisations. Par GUSTAVE FOUGÈRES, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris, GEORGES CONTENAU, Musée du Louvre, RENÉ GROUSSET, Musée Guimet, PIERRE JOUGUET, Faculté des Lettres de Paris, et JEAN LESQUIER, Faculté des Lettres d'Aix. [Peuples et Civilisations, Histoire Général, publiées sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1926. Pp. vii, 437. 30 fr.)

THIS is the first volume of a new *General History of Peoples and Civilizations* which it is proposed shall be completed in twenty volumes. As to balance, proportion, and perspective it needs only be remarked that one volume is assigned to the Roman Empire, one to Europe at the period of the Crusades, one, almost as a matter of course, to Napoleon, one to the Armaments of the Great War, one to the Contemporary World, one to the intellectual and political renovation of Europe and the American Revolution. Now as to all this one would be much disposed to raise some serious questions, which would not diminish but increase doubt as to the space here allotted in the first volume, which begins with prehistoric Egypt and ends with the conquest of Egypt under Cambyses, and must between these two comprise the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, the civilizations of Crete and early Greece, the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, the Hittites, the earliest Indo-European migrations, and the foundation of the empire of Iran. The canvas is much too small for the picture, and space reduces the whole to a series of pencil-sketches. Skillful hands have indeed drawn the sketches, for Contenau has proven his right to say what he will of the early Sumerian and Babylonian civilizations, and very well has he here said it. It is however quite impossible to say even so much of the other parts, some of high excellence, and others very weak. The brief sketches of the Hebrew civilization seem largely to disregard completely the results of modern literary and historical criticism, yet the modern literature is set down in the foot-note bibliographies with considerable thoroughness. In the history the traditional order of events is generally followed, and the Biblical literature placed where tradition set it down. ("Daniel à l'époque de l'Exil, milieu du VI^e siècle avant J.-C.", p. 239, n.) While mentioning bibliography it should be said that it is on the whole strong on French and German

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writers, fairly good on British, but weak or non-existent on American. It also lacks discrimination. It is in every case prefaced by the phrase "Ouvrages à consulter", and then follows a list of books old and new, and without any indication of relative value.

The chronology is curiously weak and mixed. The latest discoveries are used in one place, such, for example, as 612 for the fall of Nineveh, while in others even older assured results are ignored, as for example the date of Ahab is given as 933-905, and his name stands by the side of Adadnirari II., though it is certainly clear that he fought with Shalmaneser III. in 854 B. C. I confess myself quite at loss for an explanation of such vagaries as these.

Unwilling to condemn the entire volume, which would be manifestly unjust, I feel unable to do more than say in its behalf that some of it is as well done as space would allow, and as specimens of these to mention the Sumerian, Minoan, and early Greek periods, without quite desiring to intimate that there were not other portions also well done. It is however hardly a unified work of general excellence, or good enough for general guidance save for those who can handle it cautiously.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne. Par A. MORET, Professeur au Collège de France. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris: Renaissance du Livre. 1926. Pp. xvii, 573. 25 fr.)

For the historical series called "L'Évolution de l'Humanité" M. Moret has assembled the data so far available on Egyptian civilization into a comprehensive and readable synthesis which continues a previous volume: *Des Clans aux Empires*. The new book utilizes, in addition to his own former studies, most of the recent literature in its field. Only a few omissions, including G. Elliot Smith, *Egyptian Mummies*, 1924 (p. 461), Peet's new edition of the mathematical Papyrus Rhind, 1923 (p. 521), and Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im Alten Aegypten*, 1924 (p. 528), were noticed. An introduction on Greek and Egyptian sources of information and on the matter of chronology supplies initial perspective.

Part I. offers a possible reconstruction of prehistoric millennia depending largely on evaluation of primitive ensigns, titles and epithets, myths and legends surviving into later days. The author has done with this highly speculative material as well as can be expected at present. May new methods of investigation sometime uncover prehistoric royal burials in Upper Egypt at least!

Part II. traces "royal institutions and society" as culture spread southward from the Delta to Upper Egypt through the "Followers of Horus", who seem first to have united the nation. The historic unification under the first dynasty was really a reunion under Thinite kings of the South, which thenceforth swayed Egyptian destinies. Absolutism under the divine king in the Old Kingdom, feudalism and socialization with a

royal hereafter within the hope of all in the Middle Kingdom, world-outlook and class-consciousness under the Empire, followed by priestly and military supremacies and foreign conquests—these are the better-known stages of Egypt's greatness and downfall.

In part III., "Intellectual life: religion, arts, and sciences", those phases, involved already in earlier portions of the book, are given fuller independent treatments. A summarizing "conclusion", followed by brief general bibliography, corrections and additions (by no means exhaustive), indexes and tables, and 24 plates, completes the volume.

M. Moret offers in general an acceptable presentation of his field for the cultivated non-Egyptologist. In detail, his interpretation of *ym'hw* (p. 288), as "one provided for" by the king or god, is very attractive. But certain points, of which only the most important can be mentioned, demand discussion.

The spiritual element of man (p. 195) is probably not multiple, but consists of the soul (*ba*) only, while the *ka* is a divine external complement to the personality (Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 56). All theories on the *ka* are assembled in Mme. Weynants-Ronday's new discussion, *Les Statues Vivantes* (Brussels, 1926), chapter IV. These "living statues" (pp. 422, 446, 462, 496) evidently served a possible need of the dead in the hereafter; but was the *ba* or the *ka* (if either) supposed to animate them? Blackman (in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1916, III. 250-254) has shown that the *serdab* where such statues were hidden was called not "the *ka*-house" but "the statue-house" (*pr twt*).

In the primitive judgment scene in Pyr. 321 (pp. 217 and 465), King Unis seems judging rather than judged, having sat "as *ht*" of the double hall". The unidentified *ht*-animal can scarcely be the hyena (*hnt*); may it be connected with the *hnt* of Papyrus Edwin Smith (being edited by Breasted)? Where does Elliot Smith suggest that Amenhotep III.'s father-in-law, Yuya (p. 367), was a Syrian? Two origins of the hieroglyph for god (*ntr*) are offered (pp. 418 and 484). Neither is wholly likely nor yet capable of positive proof.

The etymologies or suggested connections of *šp't* (p. 47), *h'tyt* (p. 88), *r p 'ty* (p. 271), and *ntr* (p. 418) are impossible. So the author's reasoning on the conception of deity (*ntr*) needs modification, as may his remarks about three enneads (p. 69). For the writing of three times nine "god"-signs may indicate merely the plural, "enneads". The ideogram naming the second (?) king of the first dynasty (pp. 136 and 287) has been variously read Zer, Khent, or Shesti; but examination of early hieroglyphic forms has convinced the reviewer that Petrie's Zer is still the only possibility among these three.

Considering the length and comprehensiveness of his task, as revealed by the scattered details considered above, our gratitude is certainly due to M. Moret for his accomplishment.

T. GEORGE ALLEN.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON. [English Place-Name Society, vol. II.] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1925. Pp. xxxii, 274. 18 s.)

The Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. By A. MAWER and F. M. STENTON. [English Place-Name Society, vol. III.] (Cambridge: the University Press. 1926. Pp. xxvii, 316. 18 s.)

In 1924 the English Place-Name Society initiated its programme of publication with a volume dealing with certain general aspects of the new undertaking. This was to be followed by a series of special studies, one for each of the English counties. A few months ago the first of these appeared, a volume devoted to the place-names of Buckinghamshire. The study is the joint product of the men who prepared the earlier volume, Professor Stenton, the well-known historian who some years ago wrote on the place-names of Berkshire, and Allen Mawer, whose chief interest appears to centre about linguistic problems, but who has also studied place-names in Durham and Northumberland.

The study of local names is beset with many difficulties. Very frequently a plausible conjecture is presented with all the apparent authority of established fact; especially is this true in cases where the student places his chief reliance on the operation of phonetic laws. In the present instance, however, the authors have adopted what looks like a very reliable method and they have followed it quite consistently. They have traced the individual names back through the sources—charters, chronicles, assize rolls, and other documents of many kinds—and have noted carefully the various forms under which they appear. In this way a baffling name like Fingest, which in 1163 was written Tingehurst, can be shown to have been originally a Scandinavian name meaning an assembly hill. Unfortunately the sources for Bucks are not numerous for the earlier centuries, but beginning with the twelfth century they are rich and varied.

In a brief, but highly informing, introductory chapter the authors present a series of conclusions which are of real interest to students of Old English history. They believe that south of the Chiltern Hills Saxon invaders began to form settlements toward the close of the sixth century, a generation before the introduction of Christianity. Names of a distinctly heathen origin are, indeed, found in this region, but they are strikingly rare. North of the hills the settlements were made by Anglian clans who probably came at a later date. The persistence of Celtic names indicates that an important British element survived the English conquest. There is also the distinctly Anglo-Saxon name Walton, which may originally have been Wealatun, the village of the Welsh (British)

servants and which seems to point to the conclusion named; but the authors appear to hold that the name is considerably later than the Saxon conquest. In the name Quainton, which was probably Cweningatun in Saxon times, they find "an important addition to the evidence which shows that women, before the Norman Conquest, could hold land and leave their names to their farms".

The work is adequately indexed and is provided with two excellent maps, one indicating the place-names discussed (more than eight hundred) and the other showing the boundaries of the ancient hundreds and civil parishes. The authors have also included a useful series of notes on the peculiarities of the dialect spoken in the area under discussion.

In 1904 the late Professor Skeat published a paper on the place-names of Huntingdonshire, which was followed two years later by a similar study for Bedfordshire. Professor Skeat dealt with only about 350 names, however, and the editors of the present volume, who have discussed more than 650, seem therefore amply justified in making a new survey. Finding that separate studies for the two counties would make rather small volumes, they decided to deal with the two in a single volume. Naturally a task of this sort calls for the co-operating energies of many students, and the preface lists the names of nearly forty men and women who have assisted in examining the sources or have in some other way contributed to the study.

The plan of the work is in general the same as that adopted for the volume on Bucks. In addition there are two pages of corrigenda to the volumes already published. The introduction is brief and presents no very significant conclusions. In a work of this sort, however, the value lies not in broad generalizations but in the successful determination of a large number of difficult details.

Among the names dealt with one may note those of the four ancient roads that traversed this region. The authors believe that Akeman Street derived its name from that of Aceman, a hypothetical "Saxon into whose possession the ruins of Bath passed". Ermine Street got its name from the "Earnings", who occupied Armingford Hundred on the south side of the Cam. Similarly Watling Street recalls the Roman settlers at Verulamium, whom the Saxons called the Wæclings. Icknield Way was a British trackway from very early times but to the origin of its name the authors have discovered no clue.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

A History of the Revenues of the Kings of England, 1066-1399.

By Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY of Bamff, LL.D., Litt.D. Two volumes. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1925. Pp. x, 365, 440. 42 s.)

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY died in February, 1925, and his last historical work appeared early in 1926, after his decease, a fitting close to a long and distinguished career. In his preface to the *Genesis of Lancaster*,

published in 1913, Sir James recalls the fact that his histories of England cover the period from the beginning down to 1485, and that the greater part of his life had been consecrated to the study of English medieval history. "The reader will stare", he says with justifiable pride, "if I inform him that it has been my standing occupation since the outbreak of the Franco-German War. My grown-up children do not remember the time when it was not in progress." At that time he may have thought that he would write no more, but if such was his belief, he was mistaken. The urge to study and produce would not leave him and he began the preparation of this last book, which he was never to complete.

It was logical for him to undertake this study. He had always been interested in medieval finance, and to that phase of history he had made perhaps his most original contribution. Moreover, *The Angevin Empire* (1154-1216) was published in 1903, and *The Dawn of the Constitution* (1216-1307) in 1908. Very significant additions to our knowledge of English financial history had been made since those works had appeared. It must have seemed to him, as to all of us, an extremely important task to assemble in a single treatise all the information on medieval taxation which he had collected and to combine it with the results of the work of other students. Such has at any rate been his aim.

His treatment of the subject is strictly chronological. Omitting the Anglo-Saxon period, he reviews the reigns of each Norman king, as a whole, till the accession of Henry II., when the continuous series of the Pipe Rolls begins. Thereafter he writes of each year separately, with a general survey of each reign at its close. Broadly speaking the work contains three important aspects: firstly, a description of the exchequer in the twelfth century, based upon the classical treatment of Professor Lane Poole, but fortified by a thorough, independent analysis of the sources so characteristic of all of Sir James Ramsay's writing; secondly, a brief account of the political and constitutional history as a narrative setting forth statistical and other financial facts; and finally, the most complete statement of the yield of each tax levied during the period, an estimate of the revenue of each year, and a wealth of illustrative financial details, particularly numerous and illuminating during the reign of Henry II., when the printed Pipe Rolls are available.

Of the interest and value of this work there can be no doubt. The narrative is lively, not an easy task in a work on taxation. The substantial worth of the treatise testifies to the author's intimate knowledge of primary and secondary materials, particularly the former. It is of course true that he lacked the time to familiarize himself with all the new contributions to our knowledge, such as the publications of Unwin in England, and those of Gras, Lunt, and Willard in this country. As far as the fourteenth century is concerned, if we except certain statistical data on the revenue, there is little additional narrative matter which is not already contained in the *Genesis of Lancaster*. Some might point out that it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the total annual

royal revenue of those days. The veteran historian was however well aware of the difficulty of arriving at exact figures on this point (see, for example, vol. II., p. 1), but he was fascinated by the problem and loved to work at it.

Preaching in Medieval England, an Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period, 1350-1450. By G. R. Owst, M.A., Ph.D. (Cambridge: the University Press. 1926. Pp. xviii, 381. 17 s. 6 d.)

To make the dry bones of forgotten sermons live is a task for a major prophet; yet it is one that Dr. Owst, although he tells us that the bones are very dry and gives the impression that many of them were arid enough even in the days of their flesh, has performed with no slight measure of success. His book, "the fruit of four years' continuous study of the sources", is a fitting addition to the series of *Studies in Medieval Life and Thought*, edited by Dr. Coulton, of which it is the eighth volume. One may feel that the century to which the author restricts himself is not characteristic of the Middle Age, then sinking to its close; nor will the suggestion that this period may properly be classed as of the "Dark Ages" (pp. 7, 129) meet with universal agreement; but those are minor matters. It is the bones that he has found that count, and the manner in which he makes them live, and the information that he gains from their examination, rather than the name he applies to the valley in which he discovered them.

The first three chapters are devoted to the preachers: bishops and curates, monks and friars, and "wandering stars"—great prelates, learned doctors wise in their own conceit, and rural priests of the humble and unsophisticated type, Benedictines emerging from the cloister to serve as special preachers at visitations and synods or speaking *coram populo* in their great churches, and Mendicants, taking the world for their parish and preaching wherever opportunity could be found or seized, pardoners, whose activities as indulgence-mongers and exploiters of relics have overshadowed their rôle as revivalists "with many quaint subtle words and with false behesting", solitaries and recluses whose mystical discourses had but little in common with the ordinary sermon, and heretics mighty in denunciation. Two chapters are devoted to the preaching scene, chapters filled with vivid description of the remarkable throng that faced him who stood in the medieval pulpit, whether for the short sermon during the mass, or the longer discourses delivered in the church on Sunday afternoon, or out-of-doors from the preaching cross, or in processions. Dr. Owst makes good use of his antiquarian lore in these chapters, and, possibly, of his imagination; his statement on the origin of pews (p. 167) calls for more support than he gives it.

The last three chapters are devoted to the sermons. Varied types are discussed and illustrated: sermons on Sundays and holy days and sermons on special occasions, such as visitations, synods, funerals; sermons

preached before universities, before gatherings of prelates, of the lower clergy, of religious. Next comes an account of manuals and treatises, and, lastly, a chapter on the art of sermon-making. Three styles of preaching are described: the simple and straightforward exposition of the Scriptures, the formal and logical address that originated in the schools, and the popular sermon filled with *exempla* and racy anecdotes.

Just how much this book contributes to our knowledge of social life and thought of the period, or of the state of the church, is problematical; the present writer feels that the author has added to the number of his witnesses rather than that he has produced new evidence. Professedly (p. 25), Dr. Owst writes to support Dr. Coulton against Cardinal Gasquet, and his *Tendenz* manifests itself again and again. Granting at the outset that valuable ideas may be beaten out on the anvil of disputation, it is questionable whether controversy is the best method of historical research and those of us who wish to study the Middle Ages may regret that so good a piece of work as this is marked by so great a bias.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

Russische Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Von Dr. JOSEPH KULISCHER, Professor an der Universität Leningrad. Erster Band. (Jena: Gustav Fischer. 1925. Pp. xxii, 458. 24 M.)

THE author of the first volume of this "Russian Economic History" is a Russian professor in the University of Leningrad. This volume is interesting from several points of view: in the first place, it is written by a specialist who is very familiar with the vast material of primary sources and secondary works, which are mostly written in Russian and published in Russia; but at the same time the author is also well acquainted with the literature on this subject in foreign languages. The contribution which the new and almost entirely unknown material on the economic history of Russia makes to the scientific knowledge of Western Europe and America makes this book extremely interesting for the reader. In the second place, Kulischer's book deals with the very important and little-investigated problem of the economic history of Ancient Russia, which is very interesting both for Russia and for foreign countries. For the majority of non-Russian readers, Kulischer's book comes as a kind of revelation.

It is really high time to give up the standpoint that Ancient Russia was a somewhat separate and strictly isolated organism. From remote times Ancient Russia lived and developed economically in close connection with and under the influence of Byzantium and then of Western countries, the Tartars, and the famous Hanseatic League.

In his first volume Kulischer relates the economic history of Russia from the ninth century A. D., beginning with the accounts of the Arabic writers on the trade with Russia and the formation of the Russian state, and ends his narrative with the beginning of capitalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in other words, with the epoch of Peter the

Great. The book is divided into three chapters of different length: the first chapter (pp. 1-30) deals with the beginning of the Russian national economy; the second (pp. 31-157) with the so-called "appanage" (*udielny*) period and, finally, the third chapter (pp. 158-452), which is the longest, with the state of Moscow.

The reader receives a very clear idea of how the ancient Slavs made their living by hunting, bee-keeping, and agriculture, engaged, already in the ninth and tenth centuries, in intensive trade with the Arabs and, after the formation of the Russian state, concluded some treaties with Byzantium; the economic significance of the latter for Russia has been well explained by the author. Then Kulischer considers Russia in the "appanage" period of her existence (in the eleventh to twelfth centuries) as a feudal state, particularly in connection with the Russian works on that subject by Pavlov-Silvansky, who is known to have used the exceedingly interesting analogies of the Russian social relations of that time with those of medieval feudal Western Europe. At that time in Russia there began to develop handicrafts, internal trade, markets, and fairs. Kiev and Novgorod became the centres of international trade. The author gives a good outline of the trade of Russia with the Hanseatic League, which closes at the end of the fifteenth century as the result of the annexation of Novgorod to Moscow.

The state of things entirely changed at the end of the fifteenth century, when Ivan III. (1462-1505), the autocratic sovereign of all Russia, created the great Russian state. Even under Ivan Kalita (1328-1341) the Russian state had occupied no more than 30,000 square kilometres. Toward the beginning of the sixteenth century the state of Moscow already occupied about one million square kilometres, and in the year 1689, when Peter the Great ascended the throne, the Russian state occupied twelve million square kilometres, so that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its area increased more than eleven or twelve times in comparison with what it had been two centuries earlier. This fact alone suffices to show what considerable changes in the economic life of the country had to take place during those two centuries; the economic activity of the state of Moscow had to be formed upon quite new foundations as compared with the narrow limits of separate principalities of the preceding time.

Let us not forget that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Russians crossed all of Siberia to the shores of the Pacific and occupied Kamchatka and the Amur River. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a complete change in the land problem comes in. The so-called "Pomiestie", the holding of land by military tenure, granted by the sovereign for military service, became the peculiar feature of that epoch, and the peasants began gradually to lose their freedom and to become bound to the soil. Already in the sixteenth century the peasants in the state of Moscow, belonging to the landholders ("pomiestchiks"), had lost their freedom and had become subjects of the latter; this phenomenon

was not a result of an act of the state, but it must be considered as a consequence of certain economic conditions which gave the landholders the power over the personality and property of the peasants. On pages 238-263 the author discusses the complicated and difficult problem of the origin and significance of the community in Russia.

The development of handicrafts in the state of Moscow was progressing and the rôle of markets spreading out. Finally, trade, in the city of Moscow in particular, despite many internal hindrances, such as customs, toll charges, and so on, was developing. Foreigners coming to Moscow were surprised by the great number of stores and shops there. Money and credit made their appearance. Under the influence of the visiting foreigners, industry began to develop, especially the making of arms, salt works, glass works, prospecting for iron, copper, gold, and silver, and paper-making. Gradually there was formed a regular financial system, the development of which was considerably influenced by the Tartar rule in Russia. In connection with the latter there were established various taxes, customs duties, and some state monopolies, for instance, that of vodka. The customs and the state monopoly of vodka stood at the head of the state revenues and usually brought to the treasury more revenue than all direct taxes taken together.

From the sixteenth century there were established direct relations with Western Europe, particularly with England, under Ivan the Terrible. Later the English were followed by the Dutch, who occupied the first place.

The period until the end of the fifteenth century, which was for Russia practically the epoch of the closed domestic economy, may be designated as a pre-capitalistic time. On the other hand, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we may already speak of the money and barter economy. But nevertheless in the seventeenth century we have to deal in Russia only with the first steps of capitalism, only with its beginnings, not even yet with the earlier capitalism that is to develop for the first time only in the subsequent eighteenth century.

The first volume of Kulischer stops in the seventeenth century.

If I am not mistaken, Kulischer's book will make the non-Russian reader acquainted for the first time with the economic history of Russia—in this case that of Russia before Peter the Great—based upon the vast material both of primary sources and literary works. At the beginning of the book (pp. xiv-xxii) we have a list of sources and secondary works used by the author, which is extremely valuable for everybody who would work more fully in this field. For this purpose the knowledge of the Russian language is, of course, necessary.

I repeat once more that the first volume of Kulischer's work will be, for the majority of non-Russian readers, a revelation and will enable them to form an exact and objective idea of what was the social-economic life of Old Russia before Peter the Great in the aspect of her internal and international relations.

A. A. VASILIEV.

Tawney: Religion and the Rise of Capitalism 309

Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. By R. H. TAWNEY, Reader in Economic History, University of London. [Holland Memorial Lectures, 1922.] (London: John Murray; New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1926. Pp. x, 337. 10 s. 6d.)

MAX WEBER's essay, "Die Protestantische Ethik und der 'Geist' des Kapitalismus", first published in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, in 1905, and now reprinted in the first volume of his *Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, has stimulated an extraordinary amount of study of the connection between the ideas expressed by the Reformers and the contemporary changes in material civilization. His thesis is that Calvinism proved particularly congenial to industrial civilization because, in the first place, it cultivated the ethical qualities of rugged strength and self-confidence needed for worldly success, and because, secondly, it substituted for the old ascetic ideal of renunciation of this world the conception of vocation, or calling, that is, of doing manfully the work ready to each man's hand for the improvement of this life. Wealth came to be no longer distrusted as the snare of the soul, but to be regarded as the fitting reward for the virtues of thrift, sobriety, and industry.

Among the large number of scholars who have discussed this thesis, either to controvert or to sustain it, or to reinterpret other phenomena in its light, or to supplement it, Mr. R. H. Tawney will take a high place. With nearly exhaustive thoroughness he has assembled and reviewed the pertinent data, and with penetrating insight has analyzed them and built them into a new synthesis. There is no doubt that he has advanced the solution of the problems he studies, and that he has remodelled Weber's thesis into the most tenable form in which it has yet been presented. As one would expect in the author of *The Acquisitive Society*, a moral purpose runs like a current of electricity through his whole discussion, heating it white-hot. The sputtering brilliance of the style, like an arc lamp, sometimes illuminates the landscape and sometimes dazzles the eye-balls.

The most momentous of all the changes ushering in the modern world is, according to Mr. Tawney, the secularization of society, and particularly of economic and political life. The doctrine of the Middle Ages, as expounded by the schoolmen, subordinated commerce and trade to ethical and religious ideas; all articles were held to have a just price; usury was denounced as a sin; and making more from trade than a modest livelihood was held to convict the profiteer of the deadly sin of avarice. By the end of the seventeenth century all this was changed. The taking of interest was allowed by law and custom; to buy as cheap as possible and to sell as dear as possible was regarded as normal; and trading with a sole eye to the utmost gain was considered to be not only morally justifiable but so conformable to the laws of nature as to be practically inevitable. Man had been degraded from a spiritual being to an economic animal.

In asking what caused this change, Mr. Tawney rightly answers that it was due, in the first place, to the commercial revolution of the sixteenth

century, to the rise of capitalism, and to the growing power and influence of the middle, bourgeois class. But, as a co-operative force, first in breaking down the old ideas, and then in giving a sanction and a good conscience to the new, Mr. Tawney assigns a large place to the Reformation, or rather, to Puritanism. For he easily proves that the first Reformers were thoroughly medieval in their economic as in many of their other ideas. But, though their direct teachings in these matters echoed the schoolmen, by their example they broke down both the doctrines of the Church and the institutions built up by her in order to enforce these doctrines.

And then came, in a later generation, Puritanism to perfect the work of the economic transformation. The capitalistic spirit, says the author, is not the offspring of Puritanism, but it found in Puritanism a tonic for its already vigorous temper. The Puritan, as an individualist, idealized his own liberty to act, and hence to trade, for his own maximum advantage. The Puritan sanctified the virtues of the middle classes, and even their convenient vices, in as far as both virtues and vices contributed to the advancement of the individual and of the commercial class to which the Puritan usually belonged. Putting, as he did, all parts of life under the discipline of a religious ethics, the Puritan nevertheless idealized business as the calling approved by God, and directed that it should be carried on in such a way as to make it both a financial success and a public service. His practical message was the career open, not to talents, but to character; and this message was well calculated to release the latent energies of the bourgeoisie.

Thus Puritanism proved a potent force in preparing for the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. It cleared the way for those who came to regard society as a mechanism moved by the weights and pulleys of economic interest, instead of as an organism knit together by a common spiritual purpose. Just as, in Mr. Tawney's opinion, the seventeenth century had degenerated from the ethical standards of the sixteenth, so the eighteenth declined even from the virtue of the seventeenth. While the Puritans idealized wealth, their descendants worshipped it; while the Puritans had regarded paupers as sinners, their posterity treated them as criminals.

The only adverse criticism likely to damage Mr. Tawney's general thesis must be directed not against his history but against his philosophy. Writing not entirely in the historical spirit, but with a coefficient of strong moral purpose, he exalts the medieval and deprecates the modern ideal of economic ethics. Like all reformers, he attributes to ideas a causative function not belonging to them. The morals of any given society are but the customs of that society; its ethical principles but the natural secretion of these morals, that is, they are the rationalization of the prevalent habits in terms of the current idiom. In the Middle Ages the ruling classes were the clergy and the military nobility; it was to their interest to put an ethical bit in the mouth of the Jew or Lombard

whose unseemly wealth alarmed their pride and aroused their jealousy. The commercial revolution lowered the position of the priest and noble and put into the first place in the state the moneyed aristocracy of trade. It was to the interest of this class to have as much freedom to make money as possible. Just as Aquinas rationalized the class-interests of the rulers of his time by finding for them a sanction in the law of God, so Baxter and Locke rationalized the interests of the new commercial class by finding for them a sanction in the laws of nature. To assume that, by some transcendental standard, one ethics is eternally right and the other perversely wrong is unhistorical; to speak of changed virtues as "sanctified vices" is meaningless.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN, Litt.D., et H. M. ALLEN. Tomus VI., 1525-1527. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1926. Pp. xxv, 518. 28 s.)

THIS sixth volume of Dr. Allen's monumental edition of the Erasmanian correspondence covers the two years from January, 1525, to March, 1527, years of critical importance in the history of the Protestant Reformation and also in the relation of Erasmus thereto. By the summer of 1526 the reform party in Germany had become so strong that it succeeded in carrying through the Diet of Speyer the momentous decree *cujus regio* whereby the Protestant principle of local control of religion was, all unwittingly, established for all time. On the other hand the horrors of the Peasants' War had left ineffaceable marks upon the popular conception of the reform movement. More than ever the leaders on both sides were pressing upon Erasmus the duty of coming out squarely as a partizan of one or the other faction.

His correspondence in these years reflects his reaction to these continuous demands. On the conservative side, as in his letters to Duke George of Saxony, he protests his absolute fidelity to the Catholic faith and his abhorrence of the extremes into which Luther had allowed himself to be carried. Again, as in a very characteristic appeal to the Cardinal of Lorraine asking his protection for an eager young convert to Lutheranism, he lets himself go in bitter denunciation of the *porci* who are assailing him and all other friends of sound learning and good morals as heretics or worse. What he tries to do whenever opportunity offers is to draw a sharp line of distinction between wholesome criticism of clerical immorality and ignorance, and deviation however slight from the doctrinal teaching of the Church.

Of hitherto unpublished material this volume does not offer any very important contributions. The most interesting is a group of letters to and from Erasmus Schets, a merchant of Antwerp, who served the great scholar as financial middleman between him and his various patrons and publishers. Some twenty of these are printed here and give a

quite complete picture of the transactions by which Erasmus, a scholar without private fortune, was able to live in modest comfort and to leave behind him a considerable estate. Schets was something more than a good business man; he was genuinely interested in sound learning and never failed, after stating the business in hand, to add some lines of reference to his customer's latest literary product or to the scandalous attacks of his clerical critics. His latinity must have made Erasmus cringe, but he nowhere alludes to these shortcomings.

Of unusual importance is a group of letters to the Parliament of Paris, to King Francis I., and to the theological faculty at Paris asking a fair hearing for his defense against the assaults of Beda and Sutor, French theologians who had sought to identify his opinions with those of Luther.

As to workmanship, there is nothing to add to the commendation we have already expressed in this *Review* for Dr. Allen's earlier volumes. We have here the same painstaking accuracy and thoroughness which have won for him the unstinted praise of the most competent judges. May he be spared to complete a work of which it may safely be said that it will never have to be done again.

E. E.

De Nordiska Rikena under Brömsebroförbundet. Akademisk Avhandling av GEORG LANDBERG. (Upsala: Wretmans Boktryckeri. 1925. Pp. xx, 309.)

WHEN Sweden achieved her independence in 1523 under the vigorous leadership of Gustavus Eriksson (Vasa) the union of Denmark-Norway and Sweden was definitely dissolved, and Sweden accepted a native dynasty with Gustavus I. as king. Christian II., brother-in-law of the Emperor Charles V., became first an exile, and later a prisoner of state. He was succeeded as king of Denmark by his uncle, Frederick I., but he managed to survive both his uncle and the next king, Christian III. The deposed king's claims to the thrones of the three northern kingdoms disturbed the politics of Northern Europe for a generation.

When Gustavus I. received the Swedish royal title the only foreign envoys present were two representatives from Lübeck. It was this powerful Hanseatic city that had furnished the funds that made possible the success of the Swedish uprising. Incidentally, a blow was thereby struck at Lübeck's arch-enemy, Denmark. But the Lübeckers charged a high price for their assistance, so high that Gustavus's foreign policy was largely guided by those measures that looked towards freeing Sweden from its huge debt to the German city. The king's first concern was to establish order and a sound economy at home. The long border between Denmark-Norway and Sweden, Denmark's strategic position on the Sound, and the mood of the grumbling Swedish peasants, all pointed to the advisability of keeping on good terms with Denmark. After long and tedious negotiations, Gustavus finally allowed himself to enter into

the fifty-year treaty of Brömsebro with Denmark-Norway in 1541. The initiative had come from the Danish side, for Christian III. needed assistance against the Emperor Charles and the Palatinate house, heir to the claims of the imprisoned king. Gustavus needed help against the schemes of Lübeck and his own rebellious subjects. The Brömsebro treaty lasted until the outbreak of the Northern Seven Years' War in 1563, and outlived Gustavus just three years.

Dr. Landberg's monograph tells the story of Sweden's relations with Denmark-Norway during the period in which the Brömsebro treaty was in force. His account is based chiefly on manuscript materials in the Swedish and Danish state archives, and on the considerable body of printed sources now available. Among the latter is *Konung Gustav den Förstes Registratur*,¹ Laursen's edition of Denmark-Norway's treaties,² Rydberg's Swedish treaties,³ and the *Svenska Riksdagsakter*.⁴ Avoiding certain knotty questions, the two kings agreed to provide armed assistance for one another in case of attack, whether on the Elbe River or in distant Finland; neither was to conclude peace without consulting the other; and disputed matters were to be settled through arbitration commissions. Sweden agreed to leave Gothland in Danish hands, and Denmark promised now and in future to lay no claim to the Swedish crown. The story here told has considerable interest for the history of sixteenth-century Europe. The cautious Gustavus managed, despite the efforts of his ministers, to stay out of the anti-Habsburg coalition led by Francis I. of France. By drawing out the negotiations with Lübeck to an unconscionable length, he finally managed to free Sweden from Hanseatic domination. Indeed, Lübeck never recovered her lost position. Gustavus's suspicion of Danish policies was deep-seated and stayed with him to the end. While he thought highly of Christian III., Danes in general, and Danish ministers in particular, were not to be trusted out of sight. This appears especially in the curious strife with Denmark concerning the three crowns on the Swedish arms, which involved the writing and publishing of Bishop Peder Swart's famous "rime chronicle" written under the king's supervision. This document was used by the Swedish delegation that visited England in 1558 to urge the claims of Prince Erik for the hand of Queen Elizabeth. The arguments presented by the author to show that the Danes may have had designs in the 1550's to restore the union of the three kingdoms do not appear convincing to the reviewer. It seems more probable that an old and supersensitive monarch was "seein' things" that did not exist.

During the last years of his reign, Gustavus became involved in a brush with Russia, an ominous sign of the great struggle for the Baltic littoral that was to follow. The personality that emerges from Dr. Land-

¹ Stockholm, 1861-1916, 29 vols.

² *Danmark-Norges Traktater, 1523-1750* (Copenhagen, 1907 ff.). Six volumes have thus far appeared.

³ *Sveriges Traktater med Främmande Magter* (Stockholm, 1877 ff.).

⁴ Stockholm, 1887 ff. Volumes published cover period 1521-1597.

berg's pages is that of a ruler whose nature has been hardened by adversity, who, though he distrusted the Danes, was careful not to close the door to Danish friendship or alliance, who could lay about him with ruthless hand when his authority was brooked or prestige threatened. His primary concern was with solidifying his own dominions, not with adventures in world politics. The author has handled a difficult subject well. He has rendered a valuable contribution to the history of the foreign policies of Gustavus Vasa.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

A Copy of Papers relating to Musters, Beacons, Subsidies, etc., in the County of Northampton, 1586-1623. Edited by JOAN WAKE, with an Introduction by JOHN E. MORRIS, D.Litt. (Kettering: Northamptonshire Record Society. 1926. Pp. cxxxiii, 261. 15 s.)

THIS volume publishes a manuscript, now in the archives of the Northamptonshire Record Society, which probably belonged at one time to Sir Richard Knightley, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, prominent in public affairs during the reigns of Elizabeth and of James I. Knightley served his county at various times as sheriff, as member of Parliament, as commissioner for musters, as commissioner for subsidies, and as deputy-lieutenant. The manuscript under review contains copies of instructions, reports, and accounts relative to his duties as deputy-lieutenant and as commissioner for subsidies. Most of it has to do with the mustering of the county soldiery. It is particularly rich in material on the military preparations to meet the Spanish Armada.

Any adequate history of the English army in the sixteenth century is yet to be written. Even Fortescue, the latest and best of English military historians, is distressingly brief upon this period of its development. There is a great deal of material available on the subject in manuscript, but much of it is far scattered in local and private archives. The immediate task is to bring this material to light. Something has been done by the Historical Manuscripts Commission and by local societies, notably by the Chetham Society and by the archaeological societies of Norfolk and Shropshire. But much remains to be done.

The Northamptonshire records at all events are in good hands, and it is well that they are so, if the volume under review is a fair sample of their richness. Probably in itself it represents as valuable a collection of material on the sixteenth-century musters as has ever been published, if we except that rare volume prepared by John Bruce for Mr. Pitt in 1798, when the experiences of Armada days were reviewed under the instant fear of a French invasion. Nowhere else do we get so much light upon the whole perplexing subject of the local levy and particularly of the local taxes to finance the local levy. The editing is admirable. Miss Wake has not been content to set forth the manuscript as she found it, but she has supplemented it by pertinent material drawn from the Dryden

Papers, the Public Record Office, and the private collection of the Earl of Winchilsea. She has called attention to the very valuable financial report of Sir Thomas Heneage, treasurer of Leicester's Tilbury army in 1588, quite complete yet almost forgotten in the Declared Accounts of the Pipe Office. Better still, she has unearthed in the Earl of Winchilsea's collection a memorandum book of Sir Christopher Hatton, kept when he was lord lieutenant of Northamptonshire, which she promises shortly to publish, and which is evidently a very choice morsel.

Space does not serve for more than a mention of Dr. Morris's learned introduction, probably the best account of the sixteenth-century militia in print. We may regret that Dr. Morris has virtually confined his attention to military matters, and has dealt rather cavalierly with the valuable material which the volume contains on the levy and collection of the subsidy. But this can wait for another commentator.

The Northamptonshire Record Society is one of the younger of the local English historical societies. It has been established for only six years and its first published work appeared only two years ago. It owed its inception largely to the zeal and to the generous bounty of Mr. James Mansfield. His death, scarcely more than a year ago, has robbed it of its best friend, but it is to be hoped that the excellent, scholarly work which he did so much to inspire will not be permitted to languish. It is a credit to Northamptonshire, to England, and to Anglo-Saxon historical scholarship.

CONYERS READ.

Histoire Politique de l'Europe Contemporaine: Évolution des Partis et des Formes Politiques, 1814-1914. Par CHARLES SEIGNOBOS, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris. Septième édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée. Tome II. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1926. Pp. 537-1231. 40 fr.)

WE have now the second volume of this important work, completely revised and brought up to the close of the century; the old edition, it will be remembered, went no further than 1896. It is unnecessary to repeat what was said by the present writer in reviewing the first volume (XXX. 643 of this journal). The same thoroughness and care characterize its successor; not only each sentence but each clause has been studied with a microscopic and relentless scrutiny, that no mistaken emphasis may flaw the absolute exactness at which the author aims. For example, where in his discussion of the four great parties found in every nation, he first wrote "Le parti démocrate (*radical*) formé d'étudiants, d'ouvriers, d'écrivains, d'avocats" (first ed., p. 795), he gives us now "Le parti démocrate (*radical*) formé d'avocats, d'écrivains, d'étudiants, d'ouvriers" (second ed., p. 1208). It is safe to say that we have in this revision, M. Seignobos's matured judgment on the political evolution

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of Europe in the nineteenth century, as precisely as language can express it.

The chapter-sequence remains substantially unchanged. The chapter on the German Empire has been doubled in length, with greater stress on party struggles and a new section of twelve pages on nationalities in the Empire; that on Austria is increased by two-fifths, with separate sections on each kingdom of the Dual Monarchy, and an expanded study of the Slavic nationalistic movement. The old chapter on the Russian Empire and Poland has been broken into two, dealing respectively with the Russian autocratic empire and with the Revolution of 1905 and subsequent reaction; the former is the old chapter, completely rewritten, with increased attention to economic and minority-nationalistic agitation; the latter is entirely new, ending with a discussion of Russia's political evolution, here visualized as an alternation of short periods of liberal reform, imitated from Europe, with long periods of return to traditional absolutism. The discussion of the Ottoman Empire has been more than doubled, the new material being a more extended survey of the Empire in 1814 and a new and lively picture of Abdul-Hamid, described as the son of an Armenian dancer, from whom he inherited the features, the clear and precise intelligence, the capacity for intellectual labor, the suppleness and the cunning of an Armenian (p. 887). In the next six chapters there is relatively little change, except for the increase due to the extended time-limit of the revised volumes.

For the average person, the interest heightens as the present is approached, and the reader feels a certain curiosity as to whether M. Seignobos will be able to maintain his calm, passionless objectivity to the end. On the whole he does so to a gratifying degree. Bismarck's crafty personal policy in the affair of the Spanish Succession is laid bare, and the importance of the Ems telegram still insisted on, but it is denied that he falsified the despatch (p. 1142, note). A new paragraph asserts that the indemnity imposed on France at Frankfort was not in conformity with the usages of war, being based on the wealth of the vanquished, rather than on the expenses of the victor (pp. 1153-1154). But full credit is accorded Bismarck for his later pacific policy and William II. is very fairly handled.

Fuller knowledge has made possible a more exact statement of the terms of the Dual Alliance and other agreements. A new chapter on the Re-establishment of European Equilibrium carries the reader from 1896 to 1914. Noteworthy here is the crisp account of "the new political personnel" (Bülow, who "dissembled the brutality of realistic politics under the forms of Italian politeness"; Holstein, with his occult influence; Nicholas, swaying between the control of the Francophile Witte and that of the German Emperor; the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, pushed into adventurous paths by a morganatic wife eager to provide for her sons, and linking arms with the anti-Serb, anti-Italian, aggressive Conrad von Hoetzendorf). Yet gradually Bismarck's edifice, erected to

assure the supremacy of Germany, is seen to crumble; with the end of France's isolation and that of England and also of the antagonism between France and Italy "three of its pillars had fallen"; there remained only the Austro-German alliance (p. 1187). William II., though anything but pro-English, tried several times to promote a better understanding between the two countries, which failed because of the coldness of German public opinion (pp. 1185, 1193).

When the final crisis comes, Austria is seen as the chief culprit. Alarmed at the result of the Balkan wars and determined to reduce Serbia to its old vassalage, she proposed to Italy a joint invasion in 1913, but was refused (p. 1200). Then came the timely pretext of Sarajevo. Germany's share of the blame lies in giving Austria a free rein and in refusing Grey's conference (the author makes no mention of the view that at the last moment Germany sought to restrain Austria). He regards it as certain that the governments of England and France ardently desired peace. For the rest, he holds that "neither of the three emperors personally wished for war, but all three, trained in respect for military authorities, were accustomed to let their general staffs decide, not only how war should be waged, but when it should be engaged. The staffs, under compulsion to act to secure the advantage of the offensive" (p. 1202), precipitated the catastrophe, whose results he regards as a success for democracy.

In the concluding chapter, M. Seignobos maintains his theory of the importance of chance in determining the course of history. Though insurrections are less frequent, the personal equation of sovereigns and statesmen is unpredictable and of great consequence. Elsewhere (pp. 1156-1159) the view is expressed that their action, since Bismarck's day, has been usually guided by *Realpolitik*.

The analytical table of contents does not atone for the lack of an index, the more necessary in a work which will always be generally consulted and which is, more than ever, worthy of consultation.

EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Der Schlüssel zur Kriegsschuldfrage. Von HEINRICH KANNER.
(Munich: Südbayerische Verlagsgesellschaft. 1926. Pp. 89.
2.80 M.)

THIS considerable pamphlet weaves together a number of newspaper polemics which Dr. Kanner has published in recent years. It contains some good points, such as the fact that Bismarck, who regarded the Austro-German alliance of 1879 as strictly defensive, refused to permit military agreements between the German and Austrian staffs, for fear they might hamper the political freedom of action of the civilian authorities; but Bismarck's successors allowed Moltke and Conrad to exchange views and conceive of the alliance as potentially offensive, and to regard it as Germany's obligation to mobilize to aid Austria even if Austria provoked a Russian attack by an invasion of Serbia.

But the pamphlet also shows how many wrong-headed conclusions can be arrived at by a biased journalist who lacks evidence of historical training and accuracy, and who is bent on twisting evidence to prove that the war was caused by the German and Austrian chiefs of staff. He claims to have discovered what no one else has been able to find out: "The Key to the Question of War Guilt." He discovered it in the mass of papers published as Conrad's memoirs (*Aus meiner Dienstzeit*), which he seems to think that he alone has waded through. There are others, however, who have toiled through these ponderous volumes and never found the "key" which Kanner has "discovered". Why? Because it is not there. Kanner's "key" is a supposed "Military Convention", contained in a letter of Moltke to Conrad of January 21, 1909. Kanner (p. 15) incorrectly dates it 1908 instead of 1909, and quotes a few selected sentences dealing with the hypothesis that, if Austria should invade Serbia and Russia should intervene, this would be the *casus foederis* for Germany. He omits to mention that this letter was in answer to a communication from Conrad asking for a personal meeting; that Moltke declined a personal meeting for fear of the exciting effect it might have on public opinion at a moment when the crisis arising from the annexation of Bosnia was still troubling Europe; and that he said he believed it altogether likely that Russia, for various reasons, would keep still even in case of a military conflict between Austria and Serbia. Neither this letter, nor the others which were exchanged at this time between Moltke and Conrad, constituted in any sense a "Military Convention". Kanner can not quote a single passage anywhere in which anyone in authority anywhere ever refers to this exchange of views as being a "Military Convention". This conception is his own unwarranted invention. This Moltke-Conrad correspondence, regarding the desirable disposition of troops on the Russian frontier in case of war, grew out of Conrad's effort to have Germany's mobilization plans provide as many troops as possible against Russia. Moltke in turn wanted to have Austria plan to use few troops in Serbia in order to send as many as possible into Galicia to relieve pressure on Germany. These arrangements were hardly as definite or as binding as those which had been made by the French and Russian staffs for some years before this. Though some of the Moltke-Conrad letters were shown to the civilian authorities, they did not legally modify the terms of the alliance.

Kanner argues that the "Military Convention" resulted in a German "decision" for war, many hours before the arrival of the news of Russian general mobilization; that, it was not Russian mobilization, but Moltke's promises to Conrad, which are to blame for the outbreak of the war. But his evidence and arguments are not convincing.

Dr. Kanner's historical method may be seen further in the way he falsifies dates to prove that Emperor William was responsible for the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in October, 1913. He says that on October 18, at the Leipzig centenary celebrations, "when Austria was again

planning an ultimatum to Serbia", Emperor William assured Conrad that Austria's cup was full; that this time he (William) would stand wholly on the side of Austria; that he had steadily been a friend of peace, but this had its limits, etc. Whereupon Kanner continues (p. 20), "The ultimatum then indeed went on October 19, 1913, from Vienna to Belgrade", thus implying that it was sent because of the assurances of loyalty which the Kaiser had given to Conrad. The implication is unsound, because the ultimatum was sent *before the assurances were given*. The latter were given at Leipzig on the evening of October 18 (Conrad, III. 469 f.); the ultimatum had already been despatched from Vienna very early that morning, to be precise, at 12:10 A. M., October 18 (according to Conrad, III. 473, 747), and not "on October 19" (according to the discoverer of the "key to the question of war guilt").

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Genesis of the World War, an Introduction to the Problem of War Guilt. By HARRY ELMER BARNES, Professor of Historical Sociology, Smith College. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1926. Pp. xxvii, 750. \$2.50.)

THE announcement of Professor Barnes's long-projected study of *The Genesis of the World War* aroused hopeful anticipations of a really valuable contribution to diplomatic history. Very much has been written on the problem of the origins of the war of 1914 since the recent publications from the German, Austrian, and Russian archives, but most of it has been fragmentary: memoirs of distinguished diplomats, articles, reviews, and controversial correspondence. There was certainly place for a large volume surveying the whole battlefield and summarizing what Professor Barnes delights to call the "revisionist" verdict. Moreover Professor Barnes was in many ways well equipped for the task. He has studied and written for years on this topic—among many others—and has read very copiously, if not always critically, the English, French, and German literature on the subject. He has command of an exceptionally clear and lucid pen and can always force his reader to attend closely to what he is trying to prove.

Well, our hopes are not to be fulfilled. *The Genesis of the World War* is no judge's verdict but the brief of a rather emotional advocate. The tone of the preface sets the careful reader on his guard at once: "the undoubted fact that the controversial method is the one which the writer can personally exploit most forcefully in this field"; "The writer has never had it satisfactorily explained to him why it should be regarded as more scholarly to be fifty percent short of the truth than to be one percent beyond it". No one can complain that the author is not frank in his warning!

The main thesis of the book is indicated in the title of chapter III., the Franco-Russian Plot that produced the War. The very interesting negotiations of Izvolski, Sazonov, and Poincaré in tightening the Franco-

Russian alliance, especially after 1912, are taken as proof conclusive of a premeditated attack on Germany to recover Alsace-Lorraine for France and acquire the Straits for Russia. (Throughout the whole book all military steps of Entente countries taken in anticipation of war are treated as proofs of the intention to begin the war themselves.) In discussing this central thesis the author refers occasionally to the Izvolski documents, but as the documents by themselves are not sufficient to prove the entire case more use is made of the comments of secondary writers such as Friedrich Stieve and Mathias Morhardt. It is a little hard that Poincaré, militarist though he may have been, should be held responsible not only for every guess of Izvolski as to his motives but for the guesses of Germanophil apologists as to Izvolski!

Some of the dogmatic assertions of the book are very questionable indeed. The statement that "before June, 1914, it was practically assured that Great Britain would enter any war on the side of France and Russia against Germany" (p. 90) hardly coheres with the author's own admission that "Russia and France were never sure of the degree to which they could count upon British aid until August 2, 1914" (p. 138), and indeed is sufficiently refuted by the known facts of the hesitant and bewildered attitude of the British government on the very eve of war. Nor is it true that there was a German "promise" to keep out of Belgium and not to attack France in 1914 (p. 138); the author seems to have confused Lichnowsky's "feelers" to ascertain the conditions of British neutrality with definite offers by the German government (p. 514). There seems little justification for distorting the secret treaties made *during* the war for the Russian acquisition of the Straits and a French reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine into evidence that such plans underlay the genesis of the war (pp. 142-146). There is even less excuse for intimating that Sir Edward Grey would have been disappointed if Germany had not invaded Belgium (p. 199) or that France and Britain would have entered Belgium if Germany had not (p. 548). It would be interesting to have the evidence for the certainty expressed (p. 683) that if the United States had kept out of the war Germany would have agreed to a reasonable and satisfactory peace. The similarly absolute assertion that the Russian mobilization made war inevitable and any subsequent diplomatic efforts futile (p. 356) is gravely questioned by most historians.

In the main Professor Barnes is evidently sincere and candid, trying hard to be fair if not exactly succeeding in the attempt. At two points, however, he verges on disingenuousness. He includes most historians who have written recently on the war-guilt question as revisionists and asserts that "few, if any, would dissent from the general interpretations and the major outlines of the picture" (p. 661). Perhaps the greatest authority whom he lists among his revisionists is Professor Bernadotte Schmitt, and how near this witness comes to Professor Barnes's "general interpretation" can now be read in his article in *Foreign Affairs* for October, 1926 (pp. 132-147), in which he declares that the "new doctrine

of unique Franco-Russian responsibility must be unhesitatingly rejected". Nor is Professor Schmitt the only writer whose position differs widely from Professor Barnes's interpretation of it. Again, he accepts and discusses in full Miss Edith Durham's account of the Sarajevo crime, pours ridicule on R. W. Seton-Watson for rejecting it, and then suddenly remembers to be impartial and suggests that "The critical reader will probably conclude that the truth lies in the ground intermediate between the versions of Miss Durham and Seton-Watson" (p. 174). The critical reader will, but the writer certainly did not!

But the real indictment to be brought against *The Genesis of the World War* is not a matter of specific sins of omission or commission. Rather there is a lack of background, of historical understanding of the whole European political atmosphere down to 1914. The genesis of the war is treated far too much as an affair of a few years and a few men. German militarism is dismissed as a mere phrase on the ground that France and Russia had larger armies (p. 55), but to the historian "militarism" means more than having an army; it is rather a question of the relation of military to civil authority within the state, and no historian can question that, at least as compared with France and Britain, the German political system and tradition gave the army a uniquely influential place. The importance of the German navy and the panic it created in Great Britain is grossly underestimated (p. 47). The Yugoslav nationalist movement, as genuine and as much justified by Austrian oppressions as the Italian Risorgimento, is dismissed as a mere conspiracy of political adventurers (pp. 154 *et seq.*). An historian has a right to regard European nationalism as a menace if he will, but if he treats it as a mere diplomatic pose he is forever incapable of understanding the great human forces that brought down the Hapsburg Empire and plunged Europe into war.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

British Archives and the Sources for the History of the World War.

By HUBERT HALL, Hon. Litt.D. Cambridge, F.S.A., Director of the Royal Historical Society, Reader in Palaeography and Economic History in the University of London. [Economic and Social History of the World War, British series, general editor James T. Shotwell, Ph.D., LL.D.] (London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press. 1925. Pp. xxi, 445, 14. 16 s.)

THIS important work is divided into three parts—British records of the World War, British archives in peace and war, and the use of records; whilst nine appendixes cover nearly a hundred pages more.

In the first part Dr. Hall presents a study of the records of the World War with respect to their nature and scope, their disposal, and their use for the national service. A section is devoted to a Guide to War Records, namely, the archives of public departments during the war, and the local war records.

The second part is historical and technical. It has chapters on the British national archives and their expansion; on the archives of Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the Channel Islands; on the archives of the British dominions and dependencies, as well as on the British local archives and records. More than half of the second part is a study about the decay and reform of the archives. Here we find a portrayal of losses in the public and local records; accounts of early commissions and committees of inquiry (1703-1837), and of the later commissions and committees that inquired into the conditions and needs. Dr. Hall offers suggestions for reorganization, in which he points out the inherent defects of administration and the need of trained archivists.

The third part will be serviceable to American archivists. In a chapter on the Arrangement and Classification of the Records consideration is given to questions of custody, methods of archive economy and storage, practical systems of classification, and the particular classification of war records. Another chapter considers access to and the use of archives. There is also a chapter on the problems connected with the Description and Publication of Records, in which are suggestions respecting the responsibility of preparing proper archival publications. Dr. Hall describes lists or inventories, indexes, calendars, bibliographies or guides, and discusses the publication of texts and the writing of official histories of the World War. There is a chapter on the scientific description of the materials and forms of documents, represented by types of war records and local records. Historians will find helpful suggestions in a chapter on the Use of Records as Historical Sources. It is here that Dr. Hall pays a gracious tribute to American historical scholarship and research. He says: "American historical scholars have, during the last twenty years, led the whole learned world in methods of original research. The result is seen in a practical system of historical instruction and in an output of 'Guides' to historical sources which is rapidly filling empty shelves in the libraries of Europe. A collection of American post-graduate studies would, in itself, provide the most striking evidence of the progress of historical research in this generation."

It remains to point out that the appendixes deal with matters about war records—their preservation, destruction, classification, and distribution. There is a list of the local war records taken from the Final Report of the Local War-Records Committee, and a class and location list of the British archives "to indicate the nature of the several collections with which the records of the World War must eventually be incorporated or associated as soon as they become available for public use". A select list of publications about British archives and a good index terminate this notable contribution to the science of archives by a profound scholar and expert.

The reviewer has purposed to tell what the work is, and commends it to American archivists for thoughtful absorption and adaptation to their own needs.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

L'Autriche et la Hongrie pendant la Guerre depuis le Début des Hostilités jusqu'à la Chute de la Monarchie, Août 1914-Novembre 1918. Par BERTRAND AUERBACH, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Nancy. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1925. Pp. xvii, 627. 40 fr.)

THE author of this excellent historical monograph is already well known for his valuable work, *Les Races et les Nationalités en Autriche-Hongrie*. In addition to this preparation for his present task he has had the unusual facilities of the Library of the War Museum in Paris at his command.

The thesis which the author amply proves is now generally accepted among serious scholars. "The war had precipitated the catastrophe which an ill-advised policy had prepared." The geographic and ethnic complexity of Austria-Hungary demanded an altogether different policy in internal and foreign affairs from that practised by the statesmen of the Danube Monarchy, who were seduced by the political unifications of the simple and homogeneous type represented by Italy and Germany. With the federal system of free nations as their only hope, they wasted time on "bastard half-measures". In Austria, they arrived, in October, 1918, with a federal programme on paper, "trop tard, à la manière autrichienne". In Hungary, during the war, the well-known policy of Magyarization permitted, as an extreme concession, an electoral law which guaranteed "the supremacy of the masters". In either half, so far as internal policy was concerned, Germanization and Magyarization were merely replicas of the Prusso-German doctrine opposed to the advancement of the democratic idea which alone could have kept the nations of Central Europe loyal to the Hapsburg Monarchy.

These statesmen were no more successful in foreign affairs than in internal policy. The German alliance, which gave some hope of maintaining the monarchy's territorial integrity, really led the Germans and the Magyars into an internal policy of "bridling the nationalities". Under the protecting wing of the alliance, Hungary actually aspired to replace Austria in that combination as industrial Germany's counterpart. Germany, deceived in the military and material support of her ally, freely scolded her as it became evident that she was not able to stand up against the Serbs, Russians, and Rumanians, and was deeply offended because their war-aims profoundly differed. Germany wanted to obtain from the war at least the Basin of Briey, Belgium, the Baltic Provinces, and a slice of Poland. Internal conditions, as well as the appetite of her ally, ultimately forced upon Austria-Hungary the policy of conciliation, of peace without annexations or indemnities (namely, *status quo ante*), which Czernin so desperately tried, without success, to harmonize with socialistic and Bolshevistic doctrine.

Hence Austria-Hungary disappeared from the map of Europe because she failed to carry out the task which her geographic position and her

ethnic composition assigned to her in Central Europe, of acting as a balance between Prussian Germanism and Moscovite Slavism—a task in which her peoples would have collaborated, if they had been able, in full liberty and dignity, to realize their destinies within the confines of the Danube Monarchy. This task history has passed on to the Succession States.

When a writer has done so well with the tangled skein of Austro-Hungarian history, it is hardly in order to point out where the story might have been made more complete or certain minor deficiencies rectified, or even to indicate a number of typographical errors. These criticisms may be answered by pointing to the limitations of space or to the innate difficulties of the subject. In such a class there would belong the suggestions, among others: that a closer study of Russian military plans and action would probably explain certain larger developments which are passed over; that Italy offered many obstacles in the formulation of the Entente notes on Austria-Hungary; and that greater use of material in the native languages of the Succession States might have thrown a clearer light on actual conditions in Austria-Hungary in 1914 and 1918. One has the feeling that the sources used throughout are of the first order, but that they are almost wholly limited to those in German. Such suggestions, however, do not fundamentally affect, in point of view or in substance, what is without any doubt the best work thus far produced on this subject in any language.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

The Limitations of Victory. By ALFRED FABRE-LUCE. Translated by CONSTANCE VESEY. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1926. Pp. 367. 12 s. 6 d.)

HERE is a striking and notable book, the product of ripe scholarship, of penetrating insight into men and events, and of broad philosophic grasp of developing international relations during the years before the great war. The author lifts his discussion from the plane of politics and diplomatic manoeuvre to that of morality, testing and appraising the acts and foreign policies of the various European states by new standards, and thus has given us a distinctive, and even unique, presentation of the subject and the most satisfying treatise extant.

His ultimate purpose is to aid in averting the "general ruin, latent war, and the decline of Western civilization" (p. ii) which he believed would result from France's post-war policy. The best means of accomplishing this result, he concluded, was by an objective, scientific, and impartial study of pre-war history: for "many of our recent mistakes can be traced to false theories" concerning the origin of the war (p. 329).

That he has accomplished his purpose of adducing evidence to dispel illusions and rectify erroneous views shines forth from almost every page. His presentation of pre-war history is original and profound. He has penetrated more deeply into the causation of the war than any other

historian; beside his, the most learned works, as those of Montgelas and Ewart, seem almost superficial. He has fathomed the depths of the psychology and morality underlying events and courses of development, dissecting foreign policies and exposing to the reader's eyes their hidden forces, motives, and springs of action. He contributes but little to our factual knowledge of events, but adds enormously to our understanding of their deeper meaning, of their vital and essential part in bringing on the war. He has an unequalled insight into foreign relations, the nature and implication of the two great alliances, and what their possibilities were for war or peace. His analysis of events, his syntheses and interpretations, are original and illuminating in the highest degree.

He has made a closer approach to scientific impartiality than any other writer on this subject, save perhaps Renouvin. He exposes the falsehoods, evasions, and manifold dishonesties of both German and Entente partizans. He rejects alike the theory of causation propounded by the Congress of Versailles and that formulated by Montgelas, whom he apparently considers a turncoat and propagandist, abandoning his original views concerning Germany's responsibility and now engaged in the campaign that is being waged against the Entente states (p. 211).

Though he withholds no deserved criticism of French policy, he does not by any means attempt to exonerate Germany and Austria from a large share in responsibility for the war. He summarizes as follows "the three vulnerable points of the Imperial policy in July, 1914: Austro-German complicity against Serbia; the refusal of a Conference; the initiative in declaring war" (p. 25). In judging Germany's acts he further asserts: "In 1914 Germany's challenge was really a gamble, a toss-up between peace and war, the act of a powerful nation, weary of negotiating, and trusting to luck" (p. 224). In pointing out "where Germany was really to blame", he argues that she was more militaristic than the other European states (p. 210) at a time when she might have made her influence felt on the side of peace, and "having thus failed in her rôle of guide, shaken peace by her vain threats, and done nothing to deprive her adversaries of the reasons for their nationalistic agitations, Germany was very ill equipped to throw on them the whole blame for the ruin caused by the war" (p. 210). The reparations he therefore considers justified on moral grounds (p. 214).

M. Fabre-Luce takes no part in that vilification of Sir Edward Grey which just now is the mode in certain circles. While admitting that Grey was not candid in withholding from Parliament an explanation of the dangerous possibilities contained in the Franco-British engagements, he says of Grey, "There are people who, failing to appreciate his real intentions, mistook his constitutional scruples for hypocrisy, and put down his policy to a Machiavellian wish to 'allow' war to come about; we can only say that he could not have adopted any other attitude, in view of the state of public opinion" (p. 195).

Contrary to the current interpretation of pre-war events, he minimizes the importance of conflicting economic interests. They could bring about a war in the twentieth century, he argues, only when they revived questions of prestige, aroused revenge, or awakened the bitterness surviving from the past or fear of invasion (pp. 79-88, chap. III.). He is thus led to regard the antagonism between France and Germany as the pivot of European policy and the cause of that evolution in the two great combinations of powers which brought about the war (p. 123).

One charm of his book is the spirit in which it is written. Its author is always the scholar, gentle, courteous, tolerant, humane, seeking the truth; not a swashbuckling disputant, arrogant and contemptuous, aiming primarily to stain and to stigmatize an opposing group of statesmen or writers, or slashing and mangling historical evidence until it fits his purpose.

E. E. SPERRY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Pageant of America. Volume I., *Toilers by Land and Sea.* By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. Volume III., *Adventurers in the Wilderness.* By CLARK WISSLER, CONSTANCE LINDSAY SKINNER, and WILLIAM WOOD. Volume V., *The Epic of Industry.* By MALCOLM KEIR. Volume XI., *The American Spirit in Letters.* By STANLEY THOMAS WILLIAMS. Volume XIII., *The American Spirit in Architecture.* By TALBOT FAULKNER HAMLIN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1926. Pp. 340, 369, 329, 329, 353.)

The Pageant of America is a pictorial history of the United States. The distinguishing features are, first, a vast amount of preliminary search for material in libraries, museums, societies, archives, and other depositories of historical data, located both in the United States and in foreign countries. Second, this material has been sifted and appraised with great care and principles of modern precise scholarship applied. Third, there is an introduction to each volume in which the historical development is described in relation to the pictures. In addition there is a text for each picture, giving its source, value, and significance. It will be seen that we have here no mere collection of isolated pictures, but a happy combination; an appeal to the eye and mind of the reader.

This is a stupendous undertaking, calling for fifteen volumes, with an average of six hundred pictures and a text of sixty thousand words in each volume. Of the fifteen volumes announced, four are on material progress, exploration, the frontier, and industrial development; six are on social history, including social life, religion and education, literature, the fine arts, architecture, the stage, and sports; two are on political and two on military history.

The five volumes before us treat, the first, of the Indians, exploration, and founding of the colonies. Volume III. gives the story of agriculture, farm and plantation, the cotton kingdom, and the western plains. Volume V. is the epic of industry: artisans and the rise of the factory system, coal, oil, and electricity. Volume XI. traces the development of literature from the writings of the pioneers through the Revolution and on through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The great novelists, poets, historians, and essayists are passed in review, ending up with "those of varied trends of thought", including Mr. Mencken. Volume XIII. traces all types of colonial and later architecture, houses, public buildings, factories, and churches.

The pictures vary much in reliability, especially for the early period. How far will untrained persons make allowance for purely imaginative pictures of events? Indeed, the editors admit that such are "works of creative art and not historical works". They maintain however that such pictures convey the spirit of the event or suggest what might have taken place. There are many of this sort, some "drawn expressly" for the *Pageant* by present-day artists, e.g., Jamestown in 1607 (I. 175). Pictures of a later period are made to represent an earlier, sometimes by "retouching". An examination of the authentic and imaginary pictures—including facsimiles of maps, portraits, and scenes, for Virginia and the Pilgrims and Puritans (vol. I., chs. IX., X.)—shows that somewhat more than one-half are imaginative. The authors have however usually indicated this fact in the text or notes at the end of the volume. In the later periods authentic pictures predominate.

These pictures portray the "onward sweeping march of America's Progress", and are chosen with a view to "inspiring" the rising generation with the greatness of America. This is a legitimate purpose up to a certain point. One finds, however, a decided scarcity of pictures which throw light on the dark spots of American development, such as the relations of whites and Indians, planter and slave, capitalist and laborer. A pictorial history may easily be as one-sided as a history in print. The editors should strike a fair balance in these respects and also in the distribution of space for sections, occupations, war and peace movements, racial elements, etc.

Many of the more elusive facts of history—the evolution of ideas, moral conditions, race-antipathy, class-relationships, the struggle for a division of power and wealth, and the ambitious plans and purposes of political and economic leaders—such facts do not lend themselves easily to pictorial representation. Keeping in mind these limitations, it can be asserted, with emphasis, that this is a monumental work of very great value. It is an indispensable reference-work for school and college and every private home that can afford it. It will do much to revitalize history, and create a greater interest in the subject. It will suggest to some historians new points of view and new materials. We may hope that it will help to overthrow that narrow view of history that has been so conspicuous a feature of modern historiography.

The make-up of the volume leaves nothing to be desired in beauty, binding, press work, design, or clearness. It would enhance the value of the work if brief bibliographies or guides to appropriate reading for each chapter could be incorporated in the final volume.

M. W. JERNEGAN.

Winthrop Papers. Edited by the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Volume I. (Boston: the Society. 1925. Pp. vii, 418.)

THIS is without doubt the most important publication on American history announced in years. "The Winthrop Manuscripts form the largest of known private collections on the early colonial history of English America. Not alone by their contents but also by their wide connections they relate the history of New England and of all that New England represents" (preface). No more fitting sponsor for the publication could have been found than the Massachusetts Historical Society; no moment better calculated than the coming tercentenary of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; no committee on publication more competent than Professor George Foot Moore, Mr. Frederic Winthrop, and Dr. Worthington C. Ford. The volume now published contains no material of importance upon America and is intended to bring together the papers of the Winthrop family in England. The grant of Groton Manor, 1544, is the earliest paper; a long Latin pedigree, written necessarily after 1580, is the only one which mentions the year 1498; several wills, the earliest dated 1556, and several other legal documents, including the confirmation of the grant of arms in 1592 and the alienation of Groton Manor in 1594, comprise the first thirty-seven pages. The diary of the Governor's father, now first printed in full, occupies pages 37-136; Winthrop's own *Experiencia*, his father's entries in several old almanacs, and a few more legal documents occupy the next sixty pages; the correspondence fills the remaining two hundred odd pages and begins with letters of 1617. The errors and misprints in the *Life and Letters of Winthrop* have all been corrected so far as the reviewer could discover and the letters have been accurately dated and correctly arranged for the first time. Most of the material had already been utilized or published in the volumes just mentioned and the new material is not equally important.

The whole volume relates to English affairs and contains valuable information upon the condition of manors, prices, industry, the royal finances, the Puritan movement, not different in character from material already available but important because of its established authenticity. But it is also true that the evidence printed before receives a new significance in its present form. It will be a surprise to many to learn that Adam Winthrop's cousin was a notorious papist and spent considerable time in the well-known priest's prison at Framlingham; that Adam Winthrop himself loaned out a copy of the Rheims Testament; and that he loaned money to Elizabeth and to James I. on privy seals *without protest, public or private*.

The reviewer has nothing to consider except the question whether a complete and final edition of these all-important papers has been issued with the elaborate and accurate critical apparatus they deserve. While it is perhaps not for him or others to question the decisions made by such a committee of publication on technic or adequacy, he does feel that the critical apparatus has been in this case reduced intentionally to the bare essentials and that the process of elimination has gone too far. He contends that no critical apparatus could be more extended than would in this case have been justified; that no available information would have been out of place in the foot-notes. The principal use of this and of succeeding volumes will certainly not be by critical students but by the historical tyro in colleges, by local historians, and by the family historian and pedigree-hunter, none of whom are informed or able to supplement the notes provided, and who will accept these volumes as definitive evidence in preference to other material. This very large number of readers will need more considerable assistance than this volume provides.

Absolutely all the material seems not to have been printed, though nothing thought to possess historical value has been omitted. Nevertheless, there can be no *final* edition of a manuscript which is not absolutely complete, and the reproduction of every scrap of writing by the Governor or by his father was better than defensible. Neither Adam Winthrop's diary nor the Governor's *Experiencia* are as complete as they could be made, if we do not misread the editors' statements (pp. 38 and 145). No statement is made of papers printed before (with a few exceptions) nor have references been given as to their whereabouts, information essential, it would seem, to the accurate and extended use of this volume in relation to the existing material. More serious is the limitation of the index to names and places only. A subject-index was urgently needed and a very elaborate one would have been justified, and very little labor would have made available a large part of the material which crowds these pages. It is earnestly to be hoped that in the all-important volumes to follow this decision will be altered. The foot-notes are too brief for the general public; some too obvious to be worth while; and seem to contain no information not already known to historians. A genealogical table of the Winthrop family and of its extensive connections is much needed, for the notes containing the information are too scattered to serve the purpose of ready reference. No source of information is indicated for many genealogical and biographical facts, the source of which will not be by any means obvious to most students.

There is a general lack of consistency in the dates given in the foot-notes throughout the volume. All the dates in the text are in old style, which was used exclusively and consistently by the Governor and by his father. The great majority in the foot-notes are given both in old and new style, but in a large number of instances the old-style date only has been given (pp. 38, 39, 47, 69, 72, 77, 84, 88, 96, 159, 199, etc., etc.), and in a number of instances the old-style date has been wrongly extended.

The most important instance is the date of Governor Winthrop's birth. In the note (p. 30) the editors give a list of the children of Adam and Ann Winthrop:

"Anne, born January 5, 1580-1; died January 20, 1580-1.

Anne, born January 16, 1585-6; married Thomas Fones, February 25, 1604-5; died May 16, 1618.

John, born January 12, 1587, afterwards governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Jane, baptized June 17, 1592; married Thomas Gostlin, January 5, 1612.

Lucy, born January 9, 1600-1; married Emmanuel Downing, April 10, 1622."

Reference to the pedigree (p. 5) will show that the first dates are wrongly extended and should read 1581-1582. Neither the date of the Governor's birth nor of Jane's marriage has been extended, though all the others have been. This oversight has been accepted by the maker of the index as evidence that the proper dates of the Governor's life are 1587-1649. This same lack of consistency causes the notes on pages 75 and 143 to declare that Robert Cecil was born in 1563 while the note on page 92 states that the year of his birth is in doubt. The extended use of this volume certain to be made by untrained heads and hands makes these matters important, and the reliance certain to be placed upon it in matters of detail makes them doubly regrettable.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro. Edited by HELEN TUNNICLIFF CATTERALL. Volume I. *Cases from the Courts of England, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky.* (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. xiv, 508. Unbound, \$3.50; bound, \$4.50.)

As described by Dr. Jameson in its preface, this is the first of "a series of volumes into which shall be drawn off the historical materials concerning American slavery and the negro that are to be found imbedded in the published volumes of judicial reports". The scope is thus a little broader than the title of the book, since in many instances data concerning slave-prices and the like are extracted from proceedings where the cases as such are not followed through. Furthermore and happily, material is included from the minutes of the Council and General Court of Virginia, which is not in the usual sense a published volume of judicial reports. The book as it stands is an elaborate calendar of pertinent matter in the records of the courts of last resort. Essentially a record of appeals, it contains little of slaves considered legally as persons, for the reason that when charged with crimes the slaves were tried in inferior courts with appeal debarred. Yet cases involving property were often threaded with personal equations. In a suit for marine insurance money in 1785 the plaintiff said that the occurrence of

an uprising among the slaves on his voyage from Guinea had depreciated the survivors in the esteem of planters and forced him to sell at £17 in the mean below the prices brought by peaceable cargoes (p. 19). Again, the vicious practice of overlaying her children reduced heavily the value of a Virginia slave woman (p. 104); and mere age and infirmity caused some to have values less than zero. Two such were sold by public authority to the lowest bidder who would assume their maintenance and the "price" was charged against the insolvent's other property (p. 464). On the other hand mutual affection between a group of slaves and their accustomed mistress prompted the bidding of such inordinate prices for them at auction that the court ordered an adjustment to market rates (p. 96).

As property, slaves constituted a special category in various regards. Some early legislation classed them as real estate for certain purposes, mainly in order to diminish their liability to dislocation. After changes in the law had made them chattels again the courts upheld a rule that slaves must not be seized for debt when other chattels were sufficient to satisfy general creditors (p. 429 *et passim*). The killing of a slave, though without the malice which would have made it a crime, might give ground for suit by the owner for trespass and destruction of property (p. 118); and injury through neglect gave cause against a jailer (p. 145). A person employing a slave without the sanction of the master "stood in effect as insurer" of the slave's life during the employment (p. 402); and a physician administering drugs without the master's consent might become liable if the slave died (p. 464). If a hired slave were crippled through the negligence of a fellow employee his owner might recover damages despite the fellow-servant rule, because the status of the slave might forbid him to desert his post in the face of danger or to quit employment on account of the unskillfulness of his fellows (p. 427). In short, the buyer was not alone in his need of caution in the premises of slave property.

Suits for freedom reached appellate courts in great number. The most fertile grounds were whether time spent in a free region constituted residence or mere sojourn, and whether interim-born children of mothers who had been given deferred manumission were themselves free or slave. An English judge remarked with pride that the courts alone had extirpated slavery from his country (p. 33). The courts in Virginia and Kentucky could not hold themselves so high; but they took pains to describe the proper procedure in suits for freedom and emphasize the duties of judges therein (pp. 101, n., 413); and they cherished the Roman maxim, *In obscura voluntate manumittentis, favendum est libertati* (p. 158). A Virginia judge remarked in 1848 that freedom for negroes was "a benefit rather in name than in fact" (p. 215), but he did not challenge this ancient rule.

There is much regarding free negroes, including note of a lynching (p. 223), sundry cases of rape (records of rape by slaves must be sought

elsewhere), and reduction to slavery in punishment for crime under a short-lived Virginia statute (p. 140). There is something also on Indian slaves. In the sprinkling of *curiosa* there is record of a white woman living in open cohabitation with her negro slave (p. 357); a master sentenced to the penitentiary for having beaten his slave to death, and his attorney rebuked for his argument on appeal (pp. 223-225); an insoluble dilemma as to the status of a negro who had been owned jointly and a majority of whose owners had manumitted their shares in him (pp. 365, 386, two cases); a group of slaves with deferred manumission and a large bequest of money in sight, losing their claim through the abolition of slavery (pp. 261, 262); an indictment of a major-general of United States volunteers for having sent a slave out of Kentucky in time of martial law (p. 457); and the sale of slaves in that commonwealth at substantial prices as late as November, 1865 (p. 461).

These matters and many more are set forth for the most part in quotations from the records, and always with citations. The introductions are excellent, and the editing beyond reproach. I had thought to catch an error in the word "asportation", but the dictionary trapped the trapper. In the humility thus induced, I have but one amendment to propose: the introduction to the Virginia section might well have cited John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia*, whose very substantial argument it partly parallels.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. Volume I., June 11, 1680-June 22, 1699. Edited by H. R. McILWAINE. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1925. Pp. xi, 587. \$5.00.)

ON January 14, 1679/80, the Lords of Trade and Plantations gave instructions to the colonial governments to transmit to them copies of all legislative journals, together with "a particular account of all matters of importance, whether civil, ecclesiastical or military". The journals, minutes, and reports which came to England as a result of this order have been carefully preserved, and now repose in the British Public Record Office, in London. Since the originals which were left in America have in many cases been destroyed, these copies constitute an invaluable source for the study of colonial history.

For Virginia, the journals of the assembly and of the council of state from 1680 to 1770 comprise 46 manuscript volumes. The Virginia State Library, under the able direction of Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, is rendering a service to history by publishing these documents. The *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* (thirteen volumes), the *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia* (three volumes), and the *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (one volume) have already been published, and now the first volume of the

Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia makes its appearance.

This volume is especially welcome since it covers a period of great importance, yet a period which has been neglected by historians. It was during the closing years of the seventeenth century that the flood of slaves, which was to effect such profound changes in the economic and social structure of Virginia, began to pour in; that the struggle for power took place between the governor and the council of state; that the bishop of London, aided by his indefatigable commissary, James Blair, tried to reconstruct the Church in Virginia. Not only do the council journals throw much light on these movements, but they deal with many other matters important to the life of the colony—the militia, quit-rents, the patronage, arms and ammunition, violations of the Navigation Acts, Indian relations, indentured workers, the fur trade, intercolonial affairs, tobacco, pirates, imports, taxes, the College of William and Mary.

It may be presumed that when the present series is completed the Library Board will take up the publication of the correspondence of the Board of Trade and of the Secretary of State relating to colonial Virginia, and the entry books of Virginia letters, commissions, warrants, etc. The *British Calendar of State Papers* prints abstracts of some of these documents, but to others it gives only passing mention. The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and other historical journals, while publishing a few important papers from the collection, have no more than scratched the surface. Only when the seventy or more manuscript volumes of this series have been published, will it be possible for the historian to complete his study of colonial Virginia without a trip to England.

The *Executive Journals* appear with binding, type, and size of page less elaborate than in the *Legislative Journals* and the *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, probably in order to cut down expenses, but there is abundant evidence of the same careful editing. The appearance of the volumes one by one will be awaited eagerly by all who are interested in the history of colonial Virginia.

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER.

Letters of Members of the Continental Congress. Edited by EDMUND C. BURNETT. Volume III., January 1 to December 31, 1778. (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1926. Pp. lxii, 582. Unbound, \$5.00; bound, \$5.50.)

In this third volume Dr. Burnett preserves the very high standards of editing which have marked the preceding volumes. In an admirable preface he presents a good survey of the issues of the Revolution, which receive new or additional light. The Saratoga Convention, the Conway Cabal, the reception of North's conciliatory measures, the coming of the French envoy, Gerard, the obstacles to the adoption of the Articles of

Confederation, the Silas Deane controversy, all get new illumination in this invaluable collection of letters.

One comes away from this volume with no better impression of Congress's honor in the matter of the Convention of Saratoga than hitherto. The members were beyond doubt "practical politicians", too ready with excuses. Henry Laurens appears a self-confessed leader in the matter, having the grace, however, to confess to several sleepless nights and days over a decision which he realized would be brought before "the tribunal of the whole civilised world".

The Conway Cabal, the editor admits, remains still, in part, one of the historical puzzles of the Revolution, though there is a great deal of new light, principally from the letters of Henry Laurens. He was admitted behind the curtain enough so that he was permitted a view of Conway's notorious letter. Among those implicated he found "prompters and actors, accommodators, Candle-snuffers, Shifters of scenes and Mutes". Though Laurens opposed one of Washington's dearest measures, half-pay for life to army officers, yet he was against the conspirators whose success he believed would mean the ruin of the American cause. New letters concerning Lord North's conciliatory measures presented by his agents Carlisle, Eden, and Johnstone are fairly abundant. Regarded, as it was, as an insidious scheme, more dangerous than 10,000 of the best British troops, yet Congress desired to stop the effusion of blood, and there was long debate, betraying far from complete unanimity. If the fine things then offered had been tendered months earlier America might have embraced the propositions. As it was the answer was, "The door is shut". Even the device on the seals of the ministerial documents, "a fond Mother embracing returning children", could not melt the American hearts at that late day. Even the letters, borne by the commission, of Englishmen to their American friends, and the offer to individuals of emoluments and offices failed in their purpose. The commission finally laid aside diplomacy when they had the insolence to ask of Congress a "full communication of the powers by which you conceive yourselves authorised to make treaties with foreign nations".

The coming of the French minister plenipotentiary set Congress all agog. To give him a proper reception exhausted all of their *savoir faire*, especially as Samuel Adams determined that the ceremonials should be adapted to "true *republican* principles". There were many weighty questions as to bowing and sitting, and as to whether the speech should be French or "United States". At last it went off "plain, grand, and decent". There were not wanting those who did not like the idea of calling in foreign aid, and every shade of opinion is found in the letters here submitted. Mingled with these epistolary debates upon conciliation and the reception of a French minister were many letters arguing the weighty questions which came to the fore during the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. "The Grand Corner Stone" did not go into place with the ease desirable, and often assumed the aspect of

"a Rope of Sand". The letters reveal no new phase of that controversy but do give a new measure of the heat generated by the controversies especially between the landowning and landless states. Intemperate however as that debate grew, it was moderate as compared with the storm of party passion that raged about Silas Deane. The man who had rendered America a great service at a critical time by the most tireless activity in France was accused by that trouble-maker, Arthur Lee, of dishonesty and misapplication of public funds. Letters printed here tell the miserable story of the way in which factional strife prevented Deane from getting the simple justice of a fair investigation.

In addition to light upon these episodes in revolutionary history, these letters make much easier the study of various problems which confronted Congress: the reformation of the Continental army, the proper organization of its supply department, the degree of Congress's control over its own members, the complicated question of revolutionary finance, and the efforts of Congress to secure efficient executive departments. Much light is thrown upon the weaknesses of members of Congress, the scanty representation it enjoyed, its changing moods, rising now to a high plane of action, and then quickly sliding down into the abyss of selfishness. The Carnegie Institution is doing a great service to the historical investigator in publishing these immensely valuable volumes and no better agent to carry out its purpose could have been found than the industrious and scholarly editor who has shown such mastery of his task.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Studies in American History. Inscribed to JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor Emeritus of American History in Indiana University, by his former Students. (Bloomington: Indiana University. 1926. Pp. x, 455. Paper, \$1.00; cloth, \$1.75.)

INDIANA UNIVERSITY and former students of Professor Woodburn have produced a volume of historical studies which bears evidence of the gratitude with which a great teacher is remembered by those he has served. President Bryan writes the preface with appropriate words of recognition of the distinguished service of Professor Woodburn at the University of Indiana. This is not the first volume of the kind, and it is to be hoped that it will not be the last. It is a particularly appropriate mode of honoring one who has trained students in research. Professor Woodburn's seminar has been outside the main centres of graduate instruction. Nevertheless, as these essays prove, the historical training at Indiana has been more than ordinarily fruitful. Naturally in a group of fifteen studies covering widely different subjects the contributions are of unequal value.

Two studies treat problems that sweep across the Revolutionary period. Professor Paul C. Phillips (Montana) presents an interesting

study of the Fur Trade in the Maumee-Wabash Country. He takes issue with the view of Victor Coffin that the fur trade in the Northwest had nothing to do with the passage of the Quebec Act. It would seem that the French War after 1793, depriving the Canadian fur traders of their markets in Europe, was a factor in lessening the pressure on Great Britain to retain the western posts. Professor Albert L. Kohlmeier (Indiana) contributes a paper on the Commerce between the United States and the Netherlands, 1783-1789. Advertisements and news-items in the Dutch and American newspapers have been used to supplement the material available in the statistical abstracts. The author concludes that the volume of Dutch trade amounted to more than half that of the British and was an important element in the economic reconstruction of the United States during the critical period.

Four studies cover phases of the political history of the Jacksonian period. Professor Arndt M. Stickles (Western Kentucky State Teachers' College), on Relief Legislation and the Origin of the Court Controversy, deals mainly with bank and other debtor-relief legislation of 1819-1824, that was a part of the background of Jacksonianism. Professors Lawrence Hurst (Stout Institute), "National Party Politics, 1837-1840", Walter Prichard (Louisiana University), "The Presidential Election of 1840", and Dr. R. Carlyle Buley (Indiana), "The Political Balance in the Old Northwest, 1820-1860", remove some of the underbrush which has obscured the vision of historical students trailing through these years.

Five writers have selected subjects related to the Civil War period: Professor William O. Lynch (Indiana), "Population Movements in relation to the Struggle for Kansas", Professor Thomas L. Harris (Baker University), "John Brown", Professor Graham A. Barringer, "The Influence of Railroad Transportation on the Civil War", Professor Olin D. Morrison (Eureka College), "Indiana's Care for her Soldiers in the Field, 1861-1865", and Professor Charles Roll (Indiana State Normal), "Indiana's Part in Reconstruction". Mr. Lynch arrives at the significant conclusions that the efforts of the pro-slavery and of the Emigrant Aid Society to win Kansas bore little fruit; that the result would have been the same without their efforts; that in all probability more settlers were turned away from Kansas because of the strife there than went there for the purpose of struggling for or against slavery; that emigrants of the period were "influenced by the simple desire to reach some new area where land was cheap and opportunities for economic and social improvement [were] present".

Two of these studies treat recent phases of American history. By a liberal interpretation of what may be included in American history an essay on "The Territorial and Economic Roots of the Ruhr", by Dr. Sherwood, state superintendent of public instruction (Indiana), is included. Professor Orren C. Hormell (Bowdoin), by an article on the History of the Direct Primary in the State of Maine, contributes to a

better understanding of a current political question. Many tables exhibit the practical results of the primary system. Space does not permit an adequate statement of his conclusions (p. 380).

Professors Wilson P. Shortridge and James M. Callahan (both of the University of West Virginia) consider Canadian-American relations. Dr. Shortridge ("Some Inter-relationships in Canadian-American History") emphasizes the interdependence of these neighbors and makes a plea for a study of Canadian history in American universities. Students of the subject will find his study of the British policy in 1763-1774 suggestive. Dr. Callahan ("Americo-Canadian Relations concerning Annexation, 1846-1871") shows the American frontier-movement after the Civil War turning northward far down the Red River Valley, and giving promise of an American occupation which, together with the one going on in British Columbia, would sweep on to Alaska. Occupation of Manitoba and a small American uprising against Canadian authority in good time became the background of the "hemispheric withdrawal" programme in Washington. But the Canadian Pacific Railroad cut across the lines of expansion of Americans and prevented a troublesome clash of westward movements of two neighboring peoples.

Loyalism in Virginia: Chapters in the Economic History of the Revolution. By ISAAC SAMUEL HARRELL, Assistant Professor of History in New York University. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 203. \$2.50.)

DR. HARRELL has misnamed a stimulating book. Inaugurating his inquiry "with the view of determining the extent of loyalty to the British government in Virginia during the American Revolution", he soon found that on that count he must be as laconic as Dr. Johnson's famous quotation of a chapter from Horrebow's *Natural History of Iceland*: for after the resident British merchants had been banished, the number of Loyalists remaining in Virginia was almost as limited as the tale of the snakes in Iceland. The planters among them could be enumerated on ten fingers. Because throughout their colonial history Virginia planters persistently exhibited good manners in their dealings with the crown there have been others before Dr. Harrell who have expressed surprise at this phenomenon. In that respect the emotion of George III. and Lord North in 1776 was that of Charles II. and Clarendon in 1652: "more was expected from Virginia."

Diverted from his original inquiry, Dr. Harrell pursued a quest for an explanation of the lack of militant loyalism, and he recognized, if he did not discover, it in the agrarianism which, from the beginning of the colony, was a centrifugal force tugging against the commercialism of the mother country. The historical argument from the pocket-book may not be conclusive, but it helps. In this instance the historian of Virginia politics who is still to arise will find meat in Dr. Harrell's array of the facts which lead him to his judgment, for they are pertinent to a thesis

of relation of the motives of the revolutionary worthies with the tradition of the "country party", which for economic considerations agitated the assembly and the royal governors at the beginning of the eighteenth century under the successive leadership of the first Robert Beverley, Thomas Milner, and "a Conway, a Corbin or a Marable".

Dr. Harrell's study is, then, not of loyalism but of the economic problems of Virginia during the last half of the eighteenth century, particularly of those issuing from the urge upon the planters to recover the unregulated access to frontier land which was checked by the Proclamation of 1763, and from the struggle to lift their burden of accumulated and hopeless debt to British merchants. Both were undoubtedly factors in the unanimity of the planters' politics. To the analysis of these questions is added a full and useful discussion of the sequestration of alien property by the revolutionary assembly, and the ensuing futile effort to conjure from it part of the credit necessary to wage war.

Perhaps the most interesting of Dr. Harrell's generalizations from the facts collected in these examinations are that, although high passions flamed, "throughout the Revolution no person suffered death for treason in Virginia by order of a court or the Assembly"; that "no bills of attainder were passed"; "that the policy of sequestration and sale of lands discriminated against the foreigner rather than against the enemy"; and that "the winning of the territory in the west, not the confiscation of lands in the east, paved the way for a new social order in Virginia". Incidentally, he maintains that, by supporting the Revolution, the aristocrats of the Old Dominion destroyed their own class without achieving the kind of liberty suggested by the question George Mason heard propounded by some of his neighbors in a discussion of the Jay Treaty, "If we are now to pay the debts due to the British merchants, what have we been fighting for all this while?"

The book is thoroughly documented and bears evidence of painstaking and, indeed, heroic examination of the great mass of still undigested Revolutionary material in the State Library in Richmond; notably, the books and papers of the auditor of the Commonwealth and the legislative petitions. A few casual blunders have been noted. They bear on their face evidence of that bane of research, cold and illegible notes: John Agnew was not chaplain, but minister, in Suffolk (p. 49); Simon Frazer's name was either that or Frazier, not both (p. 53); Miles Selden did not spell his name Seldon (p. 63); Jonathan Boucher was never "clergyman in Westmoreland County", nor did he ever count "George Washington among his parishioners" (p. 64); *Josiah* Tucker is an appalling misprint for *Judge* [St. George] Tucker (p. 89, n.); Denny Fairfax is confused with George William Fairfax (p. 91); Hampden and Sidney College (p. 100); Greenway Court was in Frederick County, not near Fredericksburg (p. 104); Mr. H. C. Groome is made to masquerade twice as E. C. Broome (pp. 104, 189); South Manor is an elision of South Branch Manor (p. 105).

If now the Devil's advocate may be heard for a moment, he ventures to invite attention to the difficulty of reading such books as this, for the style is in the most advanced fashion of our contemporary postgraduate historical seminars. That style may be denominated the pneumatic hammer style, for it consists of a series of staccato percussions of related facts, followed by a relaxing afflatus of generalization, and repeat. There is no provision of hospitality for that mild creature to whom the publishers address honeyed form-letters arguing the joys of the "general reader", because there is no attempt at literature. We do not hold Dr. Harrell individually responsible for this because he has only followed the lead of older scholars. The vice seems to be the cultivation of an heretical worship of Clio as a goddess of pure science. And yet it may be pointed out that even pure science can be readable: witness the *Principia* of Sir Isaac Newton, which any educated man with a smattering of mathematics can read with sustained interest, even if he does not understand all of it. Moreover, Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan has recently given a new demonstration that history can be both scientific and agreeable. But among contemporary American historical scholars the tendency seems to be to put the exposition of their labors on the same literary footing as those of the chemist, useful in the class-room or the laboratory, but cataleptic in a library chair.

FAIRFAX HARRISON.

Jefferson. By ALBERT JAY NOCK. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1926. Pp. 340. \$2.75.)

MR. NOCK says he is writing "a mere study—a study in conduct and character", and not a biography. He has however maintained an orderly sequence of events, even though detailed chronology is not emphasized. With his own idea of selection and emphasis, he has really given us an account of Jefferson's career. He has lingered over opinions, given freely in Jefferson's words, and has stressed Jefferson's observations and theories in economic matters and the relation of his acts to the fundamental economic struggle.

Mr. Nock has prepared himself for the task by reading a number of books and some manuscripts. Of the biographers he prefers Parton. He is piquant and original at times and not too careful of the feelings of those who dwell about Williamsburg. This ancient seat he says was "unattractive, save to those who knew nothing better" (p. 3). In an account of Jefferson's life down to 1784—forty-one years—he merely names the Declaration of Independence, gives one page to the governorship, and twenty-six pages to farming operations. Jefferson, "even as farming went in those days, . . . was not a good practical farmer" (p. 51); yet his services in agriculture "were of great benefit to the nation at large" (p. 68).

Nearly one-third of the book is devoted to the five years 1784–1789. Here there is a good chance for describing, largely in Jefferson's lan-

guage, his opinions and observations about French and English life and things in general called to Jefferson's attention by what he saw.

As Mr. Nock opens up his treatment of Jefferson's national career, his thesis begins to unfold. It is Mr. Beard's theory complete. Public creditors, land speculators, shipping interests, manufacturers, and merchants made the Constitution. Not one of the founders represented the interests of production. The producing class, in Mr. Nock's opinion, is "the immense majority which in every society actually applies labour and capital to natural resources for the production of wealth". The "exploiting" class he defines as "the minority, that is, which in every society appropriates without compensation the labour-products of the majority" (p. 192). Now, Jefferson, although a poor economist, without a full understanding of the implications of all that was going on, wasting his time denouncing monocrats and such terrible creatures, nevertheless was the protagonist of the producing class, and Hamilton, who also was a poor economist, was the protagonist of the "exploiters" because he wanted to strengthen the government. Because of Jefferson's "legalistic" attitude toward Hamilton's fiscal system, he appeared as "a doctrinaire advocate of States' rights and of strict Constitutional construction; whereas he was really neither" (p. 199). He was ready to change sides on these academic questions whenever he found the producers' interest lay in the other direction. Space would forbid, if indeed the discussion were fruitful, again raising the question as to whether the history of the period has such a simple key as the fight between "producers" and "exploiters", or as to the proper definition of these terms. Mr. Nock's statement of this theory is interesting, at any rate, if not profound.

Jefferson, according to Mr. Nock, did not have the inclination, the natural bent, or the gifts for the popular leadership into which he gravitated; nor was he "the philosopher and thinker of that movement". He was however "a born Vice-President". It was "the one public office that exactly suited him" (p. 220).

The presidency was eight years of "splendid misery". He found the Hamiltonian system of finance a fixture. Nevertheless by deflating the debt, cutting down the army and navy, abolishing the newly created courts, lightening the load of taxation, he did a good deal for the "producer". He never understood the immense impetus "that would be given to unlimited private land-monopoly by his cherished plan to clear off the public debt by the sale of the Western lands" (p. 247). Nor did Jefferson fully understand the deep import of British influence in America. It was "the external and superficial aspect of this influence that mostly concerned him" (p. 248). And in the case of the Embargo he "proposed a measure wholly subversive of the principle of liberty. . . . In fact, the most arbitrary, inquisitorial and confiscatory measure formulated in American legislation up to the period of the Civil War was the Embargo Act" (p. 266).

Mr. Nock has written an entertaining, challenging book, not altogether convincing, but well worth the writing and the reading. In the manner of a Virginian, he never fails to set the great Democrat off from other men as *Mr. Jefferson*. Although the present reviewer has never been able, with entire consistency and poise, to carry off this manner of speaking, he acknowledges that Mr. Nock is able to do it. I wonder, however, why the title of the book should not be *Mr. Jefferson*!

D. R. ANDERSON.

An Interpretation of Recent American History. By JAMES C. MALIN, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Kansas. (New York and London: Century Company. 1926. Pp. xv, 175. \$1.25.)

THIS little volume deals with American history since the Civil War. It is designed to relate the salient facts of the last sixty years in such a way as to point out their meaning and significance. It seeks to give historical understanding, not merely a narrative of happenings in their chronological order. The facts are dealt with by an interpretative arrangement. The author, knowing in their order the chief events of our history, looks at that history in the large; he sees the great movements and decisions which the march of events has brought to pass, and he marshals his facts in such a way as to enable the reader to find historical values in certain factors that are outstanding in American development.

These factors are the making of the nationalized federal state, individualism, democracy, industrialism, imperialism, and internationalism. The author turns from the topics of earlier historians to these dominant forces of recent years.

Geographical unity, economic forces and organization, union of East and West, the nationalization of the government, have all tended to produce the nationalized federal state. A forcible array of facts, industrial, class, social, cultural, are shown to bear upon this development.

The second part of the volume deals with America from the Civil War to the World War, under the caption, "The Making of Greater America". Under Industrialism the author deals with the alliance between industry and politics; our currency troubles and defective banking; the combinations of capital and the financial groups; our reaching out for markets; our increased exports—which are all related pointedly to this outstanding feature in our history.

Imperialism brings into view an aggressive policy for commercial expansion; the effect of the Spanish war; the need for raw materials; the increase of the navy under the propaganda of Colonel Roosevelt and Captain Mahan; pan-Americanism for the sake of trade expansion toward Spanish America; the acceptance of imperialism by organized Christian missions in order that our Christian civilization might spread to benighted parts.

Democracy deals with the drawing of class lines; immigration; labor organizations, with a parallel between slave labor and wage labor; the agrarian movement, including the Grangers and the Populists and the Non-Partisan League; the newspapers, the literary and social clubs; the influence of public education and of the church and the church's growing interest in economic and social problems. A keen intelligence is shown in revealing the way in which all these things are related to the growth of democracy, as, for instance, in the author's characterizing so aptly the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 as a *democratization* of our money system: "Here the national government responded at last to the argument which had been the basis of the greenback agitation—a direct national control over banking and the issue of money, and of adjusting the volume of money to the needs of the country." The same growth in democracy is seen in the graduated income tax; in the control of railways, of commerce, of industrial corporations, and in the agencies and acts for social betterment; in elections and the changes in political machinery; direct primaries, direct election of United States senators, the secret ballot, woman suffrage, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the control of the liquor traffic.

The section on Internationalism deserves special commendation. It is shown that America has entered into *twenty-eight* arrangements or agreements leading to international co-operation, not counting the Universal Postal Union and international copyright. These international conventions touch communications—postal, telegraph, wireless; economic interests—weights, measures, patents; sanitation, health, police, submarine cables, African slavery, white slave traffic, obscene publications, *scientific progress*. These agencies are now centralized largely in the League of Nations, "which, if it accomplished nothing more, would be the greatest single step yet taken in the direction of efficient international organization".

The author traces the rise and progress of the peace movement in America, and American leadership in the development of the League of Nations and the World Court, through Roosevelt, Taft, Root, and Wilson.

The volume is a very thoughtful one, from a teacher who knows how events should be studied and arranged to make known their significance. It should find a wide use among teachers and students of American history. It is without an index; that lack always detracts from the usefulness of a volume, although in this case the table of contents is analyzed in detail. There is a very extensive and useful bibliography which every teacher or student will appreciate. Taken as a whole, Professor Malin's small volume is a compact illustration of much in little.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War. Compiled by WALDO G. LELAND and NEWTON D. MERENESS. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1926. Pp. xlvii, 532, 18. \$5.25.)

THE complete history of American participation in the World War will involve (1) an account of the military effort, (2) an account of the non-military effort, which was directed chiefly to the financing of the military needs of the Allies, and to the stiffening of their morale, (3) a description of the social and economic reorganization undertaken in order that these efforts might be more effectively maintained, (4) an account of the reactions of the war-effort and of the economic reorganization upon American industry, life, and thought, and, finally (5), a picture of demobilization in all its aspects. The scheme of the Carnegie Endowment, to which we are indebted for the invaluable *Introduction to the American Official Sources*, now at hand, excludes the first and most of the second of these major divisions of the subject. The Carnegie Endowment is concerned with the effect of war upon nations, not with the war itself; and the student must be warned not to approach this volume with the expectation of finding in it a guide to the military papers of the A. E. F. But the sociological student who desires to measure the derangement of social life by the fact of war, or the student of preparedness whose interest is to learn from the *post mortem* of this war how better to serve the nation when or if it may again be forced into military struggle, will find in the work of Leland and Mereness an introduction to a new and almost untouched side of human history.

It was the great novelty of the World War that civilization devoted itself almost whole-heartedly to its winning. The slogan of "business as usual" was dropped, and in its place was heard the phrase, "work or fight", a maxim that touched the life of the baby in the cradle, the workman in the shop, and the youth at school. There was, in effect, no such person as a non-combatant among the fighting nations. And in the hurried reorganizations improvised to win the war many principles of co-operation were tested that might, could equal devotion be promised them, be even more useful in organizing society to make it possible to live at peace. Through each of the chief war-agencies that functioned in 1917 and 1918 the editors of this book have gone, listing the things that were printed, the reports that were written, and the archives that were accumulated, and describing the slipshod manner in which the nation has preserved the records. Their task was lightened, in a way, by the fact that nearly all of the irregular organizations, as well as the regular branches of the government devoted considerable post-armistice effort to the compiling of official histories. The history of the air service in France runs to 269 volumes. Many of the war workers wrote personal narratives that are quasi-official in character, like Creel's *How We Advertised America* (1920), or Crowder's *Spirit of the Selective Service*

(1920). The Historical Branch of the General Staff assembled more than three thousand *dossiers*, upon as many separate economic agencies of the war, in connection with its projected history of economic mobilization. All of these have been sought out and listed, even to the Department of Commerce's *Substitutes for Tin Cans*, and W. B. Bell's *Co-operative Campaigns for the Control of Ground Squirrels, Prairie Dogs, and Jack Rabbits*.

The very table of contents of this *Introduction* gives a better sketch of war organization than exists elsewhere in print; the brief paragraphs of explanation identify them in time and function.

It adds materially to the horrors of war to contemplate the mass of additional materials created thereby for the conscientious historian; but with this guide available it now becomes possible to proceed with the study of American life as affected by the war.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid. By FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D.Sc.M.H. Volumes I., II. [Recueil de Travaux, Université de Louvain, deuxième sér., tomes VI., VII.] (Louvain: A. Uyt-spruyt; Rochester, N. Y.: Art Print Shop. 1925, 1926. Pp. xii, 368; xii, 487. \$3.00.)

DR. ZWIERLEIN has spent many years in the preparation of these two bulky volumes which, owing to his leisurely methods and his copious use of extracts from the correspondence and writings of Bishop McQuaid, have not yet exhausted his subject. Indeed, a third volume is now in preparation, and there is no apparent reason why, unless he resorts to a more summary treatment of his topics, this should not be followed by still another volume.

The author is a painstaking, laborious historical student, who is fully aware of the defects that are commonly found in the biographies of more or less eminent prelates. He is determined that the *Life of Bishop McQuaid* shall never be mistaken for a panegyric. He seeks facts. He has found them in abundance for he has worked in a new field to which the historical student rarely has access. He has had in his hands the letter-books and private papers of Bishop McQuaid, who was an unusually alert and observant critic of his times, possessed of a vigorous and caustic style, and inclined, especially in the intimacies of his correspondence, to hit many venerable heads. Moreover, the archives of the archdioceses of Baltimore and New York, and the papers of Bishop Gilmore of Cleveland, and many other sources, have been open to him. He has used them all without fear or favor.

The result, as shown in these volumes, is a rather disorderly, but most interesting, series of chapters; some dealing with the local history of the diocese of Rochester, but others with the larger thoughts and movements of the Catholic Church in the United States. It is safe to say that the material found in chapter XVII. on Papal Infallibility has never

before seen the light. So also are chapters XXV. on Conciliar Legislation and XXVI. on Approval of Council, taken, apparently verbatim, from Bishop McQuaid's notes, all new. In no other work can the genesis of the canon law of this country, up to the introduction of the New Codex in 1918, be so readily studied.

On the other hand, there is much that is irrelevant and long drawn out. The whole chapter on Secret Societies, covering nearly a hundred pages, is nothing more nor less than a history of the Land League and other allied Irish political societies with which Bishop McQuaid had almost nothing whatever to do. A bishop's dealing with his clergy is largely confidential and history has very little interest in the failings or mistakes of some very unimportant ecclesiastics. The author, however, drags into the light of publicity all that he has found.

"I have downed them all", Bishop McQuaid was in the habit of saying in his old age, of his classmates who commiserated his frail habit in youth. His life consisted in "downing" many other opponents, chiefly ecclesiastics. The chapter dealing with his first days as a bishop is significantly entitled *First Troubles*. There is more or less of trouble in all the others. "You know", he writes to one of his correspondents (II. 128), "that if I begin to make a stir my natural character seems to lead people to suspect ulterior views and jealousy is created." On another occasion he refers to an article he had just written (II. 165), "It is written with gloves off and in my most bitter style".

In spite, however, of this natural inclination for "trouble", he was a laborious and devoted bishop who was the sincere and determined champion of the parochial school and who accomplished wonders in his diocese.

AUSTIN DOWLING.

The Civil War and Readjustment in Kentucky. By ELLIS MERTON COULTER, Professor of History in the University of Georgia. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1926. Pp. viii, 468. \$3.60.)

PROFESSOR COULTER has shown considerable courage in sifting the mass of complex and conflicting evidence bearing upon Kentucky during the Civil War and Reconstruction era. He has done a brilliant piece of work; his book is a gripping story from beginning to end, clear-cut, solid, and comprehensive. Every statement is documented with source-material, garnered as with a fine-tooth comb from the correspondence of the Breckenridges, Holt, Watterson, Crittenden, Harrison, Stevenson, Durrett, and from the newspapers of that region and the government documents, state and federal. It is, in many ways, the best book on this period.

The best feature about the book is that it presents very clearly and forcefully the psychological groupings about the sectional issues, tracing and explaining the ever-shifting opinion of these groups. In 1861,

according to Professor Coulter's analysis, there were three groups in Kentucky. On the extreme right were the Union-at-any-price men, led by such men as Holt and Robert J. Breckenridge, the implacable, dogmatic Presbyterian preacher. This group admitted nothing in favor of the South and slavery. The centre or middle-of-the-road crowd, making up the great majority of Kentuckians and led by such men as Lazarus Powell, Crittenden, and, at first, John C. Breckinridge, were Southern in their social, political, and racial make-up, but were attached also to the Union through sentiment and trade, mostly trade. This group believed in the doctrine of states' rights but were opposed to secession as the remedy for the admitted wrongs of the South. They were in favor of an adequate compromise such as the Crittenden Compromise. The third group, much larger than the right, formed the extreme left or radical secessionists. They were headed by men such as Simon Buckner. They had no patience with half-way measures.

The call for troops by Lincoln found the centre in control of the state, except the governor, who was more in sympathy with the left or states' rights party. It was an embarrassing situation; they wanted to stay in the Union for purposes of trade with the Northwest and the region along the Ohio, but they objected to coercion of the seceded states. Hence they settled upon neutrality as the best and safest policy. They would not secede and lose their commercial connections and make their state into a battlefield torn by a fratricidal war, nor would they make war upon their kinsmen to the South.

For several months Kentucky profited by this ambiguous position, reaping a golden harvest in contraband in the capacity of middleman between the two hostile sections. Lincoln showed great diplomatic skill in allowing this trade during the months of indecision, for it resulted in Kentucky's doing nothing positive and time was thus gained. When Lincoln realized that the end of Kentucky's neutrality must be brought about, he outmanoeuvred the Confederacy and forced it to violate the neutrality of that state, and thus bear the onus of breaking a plighted faith. All the time, before the troops of the two sections were encamped upon the neutral soil of the Blue Grass state, Lincoln had actually been violating its neutrality by arming and recruiting soldiers there. He got around the technical violation of neutrality by carrying this work on through means of native Kentuckians bearing commissions in the United States army. Lincoln's policy resulted in Kentucky's remaining in the Union, as Professor Coulter suggests, by sheer inertia rather than any actual choice or decision. This was a great moral victory.

But the material benefits were not so great. In fact a situation grew up in Kentucky which Lincoln either approved or was unable to control, which resulted in the alienation of the masses of people composing the second group from the administration and practically from the Union. The author says that this situation "virtually destroyed the effective co-operation of the state with the federal government", the state voting

almost solidly against Lincoln in the state and national elections of 1862-1864, paying scant respect to the federal draft laws, and practically ceasing to send volunteers into the Union army. The situation which came to alienate the mass of Kentuckians was the military régime set up in Kentucky as soon as the state was definitely a part of the Union. General Boyle, and later General Palmer, who had charge of the military in this state, conducted themselves in the manner of Oriental despots, breaking up peaceful political conventions and chasing candidates away simply because they were opposed to Lincoln and were advocating the election of McClellan; or seizing men, women, and children by the wholesale and throwing them into prison, sending them into exile, or executing them on mere suspicion of disloyalty. Towards the end of the war the people were still further exasperated with the federal government by the crude way in which Lincoln's emancipation policy and the confiscatory laws were executed in Kentucky by the military. The emancipation of the negro without compensation and the radical policy embittered even the mild radicals against the North and the Union so that Kentucky returned, for some years to come, an overwhelming vote against the Republican candidates and administrations. One observer remarked "that Kentucky failed to secede in 1861", but "by a strange conjunction of circumstances what the rebels failed to do in 1861 they realized in 1867". The Confederate element combined with the conservatives as soon as the war ended and swept the radicals from the state government and most of the national offices in the state. Soon the Confederate element, possessing the ablest leadership, organized and took over the Conservative party and renamed it the Democratic. For a while no one but an ex-Confederate soldier could obtain office. At length, in the face of the radical and negro threat, the Conservatives sneaked into the Democratic ranks and were allowed a small portion of the offices.

Thereafter, says Professor Coulter, "the Confederate tradition became the dominant feeling in society, politics and religion. . . . Monuments to Confederates were erected on all sides with funds raised privately or apportioned from the public treasury. The graves of Union soldiers might be decorated, but it was not fashionable to mark their memory with statues and monuments in public squares and parks".

So, while the political strategy of Lincoln saved the state from secession, the border policy pursued afterwards—martial law and arbitrary arrests and persecution, crude handling of the emancipation question, the radical programme of fastening negro rule upon the South—resulted in Kentucky's becoming almost solidly pro-Southern and Democratic.

FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY.

The Life of Stephen F. Austin, the Founder of Texas, 1793-1836.

By EUGENE C. BARKER, Professor of American History in the University of Texas. (Dallas, Texas: Cokesbury Press. 1925. Pp. xv, 551. \$5.00.)

THE book under review has long been expected by the members of the historical profession. For years Professor Barker has been collecting material for a biography of Stephen F. Austin, a small part of which appeared a short time ago under his editorship in the form of the Austin Papers in two thick volumes of the American Historical Association *Reports*. He has also written and published numerous papers and articles pertaining to the early history of Texas. His book is therefore the culmination of prolonged and scholarly effort as editor and author and is the most important contribution to the history of the Southwest in recent years.

By way of introduction there is presented in the first three chapters an outline sketch of the Austin family in America, with particular attention to Moses Austin, the father of Stephen F., who was prominently connected with the lead-mining industry in Virginia and Missouri in the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and who, in the last two years of his life, projected a scheme for establishing an American colony in Texas. It fell, however, to the son, on the death of his father in 1821, to carry out that scheme, and from that time to his own premature end in 1836 he was so vitally connected with the early history and development of Anglo-American Texas as to win for himself the high distinction of being its founder. The story of those fifteen active years is told in great detail in the remaining chapters of the book.

Inasmuch as Austin had never been the subject of biographical study Professor Baker chose to make his book "primarily factual and direct rather than interpretative" in its method of treatment, confident that "the admirable character and winning personality of the man" would thereby become unmistakably clear.

In these last quoted words is to be found the key-note of the book. Austin, according to Professor Barker, has been greatly maligned and misunderstood, not only in his own time but ever since, and deserves therefore to have his day in court against his detractors. Truth to tell, it must be admitted that more than once during his career in Texas Austin became involved in certain transactions that, on first glance at least, appear rather questionable. The most-noted instance was that of the Robertson Colony, in connection with which Austin was accused of betraying a trust imposed upon him, and acquiring thereby a colonial grant that had already been bestowed upon another man. In dealing with this and other controversial topics in the life of Austin, the author assumes the rôle of attorney for the defense, and by skillfully marshalling facts and arguments he builds up a strong case for his client. Most of his readers will probably be convinced by his method of procedure and accept his conclusions as sound and trustworthy, but some will doubtless

still remain skeptical. Already one reviewer voices himself to that effect in a recent issue of the *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly*. But whoever in the future persists in preferring charges against Austin will have to reckon with Professor Barker's treatment of the matter and introduce new evidence if he expects to get a hearing before critical historical students.

For the benefit of the general reader the author might well have included among the introductory chapters one on the conditions in Texas in 1821. The book will undoubtedly be read by many who are not familiar with the Spanish colonial period of Texas history and hence they will not be in a position to appreciate Austin's work as much as they would if they had been given some idea of what had been done in Texas before he began his activities there.

The portraits of Austin, taken at different periods of his life, and those of his father and mother are excellently reproduced, and the two maps of Texas, retraced from the original Austin Papers, add much to the value and interest of the book. The index is all that could be desired.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1857. By WILFRID HARDY CALLCOTT, Associate Professor of History in the University of South Carolina. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1926. Pp. 357. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR CALLCOTT presents the historical process in Mexico from the establishment of the republic to the promulgation of the Constitution of 1857, finding his unity in the struggle for the emergence of the democratic principle in government against the reactionary influences within the Church, the landholding class, and the army. He points out repeatedly in the course of his narrative that the continuous disorganization of public finance and neglect of the public debt was responsible for the successive political crises through which Mexico passed during the period under review. The author's point of view is that the separation of church and state and the development of liberal democratic government, while they are processes breaking distinctly with the social tradition of the country, are desirable and possible ideals. The Church, a beneficent institution with much to its credit, has had an unhappy influence because of its inevitable accumulation of property in mortmain and its efforts to prevent loss of this, as well as of its influence, under the continuous fight against its dominant position.

An "Historic Background" lays a good basis for this treatment, in which there are minor slips. It is hardly true that the "New Laws" exerted any considerable ameliorative influence upon the Indians of New Spain (pp. 10-11), for they were actually enslaved on the mining frontiers half a century after these laws were promulgated and withdrawn. The colonies were hardly "practically uncontaminated by Jews

and all other non-Catholics" (p. 11), for Inquisition records show many instances of trials of Jews, Huguenots, and Lutherans. In accounting for the accumulation of lands by religious bodies the original royal grants, sufficient for maintenance, are overlooked (p. 13). The discussion of the influence of militarism in colonial days (p. 23) should have brought out the fact that until 1765 the army was Spanish and transitory; that enlistment of colonials was the means Charles III. took to provide defense against England, and that the creation of a military caste not only led to independence but has been responsible for the development and survival of government by *cuartelazo* in spite of democratic forms. Division of the clergy into upper, lower, and regular classes is illogical, ignoring the fact that the first two are seculars (p. 30); parish priests ought not to be called curates (p. 20). To say that the liberal movement of the early nineteenth century was by the "masses" as against "classes" (p. 31) is rather broad. It was in their name, but they have hardly moved, even yet; the active group has been the *mestizos*, who are hardly the masses. Their influence has been shown by their continual process of driving away the earlier top crusts of society and rising to absorb their category, a movement which still goes on under the name of democracy.

The ample and well-chosen bibliography affords abundant primary material for this dissertation, but the author leans heavily on secondary writers; contemporary accounts are well handled, and the treatment of sources, notably the Gómez Farías letters from the García Library, are so used as to place new emphasis on the career of the initiator of the separation movement. The mild judgment of Santa Anna as one of Mexico's most remarkable men is perhaps just, but that worthy needs louder praise before he can be rehabilitated. There is a short but good account of the Constituent Congress, and the framing and reception of the now famous Constitution of 1857. The whole work is written in clear style and in judicial tone and manner; it fills the need for a work on the earlier background of the current religious situation. The format of the book is attractive, and creditable to Duke University Press.

H. I. PRIESTLEY.

MINOR NOTICES

The Outline of History, being a Plain History of Life and Mankind. By H. G. Wells. New illustrated edition. Two volumes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. x, 384, viii, 767, \$15.00.) The two-volume edition of Mr. Wells's *Outline of History* now issued is in large octavo, with two columns to the page, a form probably adopted in order to facilitate the introduction of innumerable illustrations, of which there are some seven or eight hundred, besides 118 maps and charts, and 24 colored plates (the title page says 32). The work has been revised and in some measure rewritten. Mr. Wells says that the first edition, constructed with the aid of many specialists, had somewhat the appearance and flavor of a

note-book; and that the controversies, about Mr. Gladstone's education and many other matters, which were carried cheerfully on between the foot-notes and the text, while amusing to the writers, were tedious to the readers and quite irrelevant to the story. Having profited from his critics, Mr. Wells has now dismissed his collaborators with a "God bless you", omitted all the notes, and rewritten the text with the object of making it "more explicit, more fluent and more continuous". In this I think he has succeeded. In addition, Mr. Wells has brought the story down to the present year of 1926, and at the same time omitted some of the optimistic speculation about the future great society which was included in the first edition. Scholars will still find much amiss in Mr. Wells's *Outline of History* (and how else can they retain their self respect?); but for all that, the work in its present form is a splendid achievement, a single history in which people of all conditions, young and old, may find a simple story of the great human adventure.

C. B.

Demosthenes. By Georges Clemenceau. Translated by Charles Miner Thompson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. 158, \$2.50.) This passionate sketch belongs to the literature of action and influence rather than to that of history and scholarship. In his eloquent plea for what is both the patriotic and the common-sense view of Demosthenes's mission and character, M. Clemenceau is thinking of the French people. He is speaking to the modern Athenians, who from love of their ease or misled by defeatist demagogues and sentimental pseudo-scientific cosmopolitan philosophies would not, he thinks, heed the warning of a Demosthenes—if haply they had one. But his protest has a certain timeliness, of which he is doubtless unaware, for opinion in America. We have no Philip to fear and no semi-barbarian Macedon threatening our frontiers or looming in our future. But to turn from great things to things politicians deem small, too many of our text-books of Greek history have been filled with an anti-Athenian, anti-democratic, un-American propaganda made in that older imperialistic Germany and still surviving in German scholarship, as for example in the recent work of Drerup. In the country of Goodwin, whose historical appendix to his edition of the *Oration on the Crown* might dispense them from the study of foreign authorities, American students are taught that it was folly to resist the disciplined *Beamtenstaat* of Macedon, that Demosthenes was certainly an impractical idealist and probably a corrupt politician, and that the policies of Isocrates were far more statesmanlike and in accord with the stream of tendency and the inevitable course of history.

No red-blooded American who reads the *Oration on the Crown* with a teacher worth his salt will ever believe it. But there is danger that the docile majority, who are put through a school text-book of Greek history manufactured directly or indirectly in Germany, will accept this mis-

chievous propaganda as the verdict of scientific history. Has it not been approved by Mr. H. G. Wells himself? If the eloquence of M. Clemenceau's protest and his vivid interpretation of Demosthenes's career helps to counteract this tendency, the truly critical student of Greek history will welcome his book. A professional scholar could easily cavil on the details. But M. Clemenceau is right on the one essential issue. He justifies his conclusion by the speculation that if the Athenian democracy had survived, instead of the futile over-running of Asia there might have been a direct Hellenization of the Gallic tribes, and so a France whose civilization did not derive from the decadence of Rome but from the original source of all civilization. Be that as it may, *victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catoni* is a religion which the *Oration on the Crown* will not allow humanity to forget.

PAUL SHOREY.

Römische Geschichte. Von Friedrich Cauer. (Munich and Berlin, R. Oldenbourg, 1925, pp. 208, 5 M.) This book is a companion volume to Professor Wilcken's *Griechische Geschichte*, which was reviewed in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1926 (XXXI. 302), by the present writer.

Professor Cauer divides his subject into four periods: (a) From the beginnings to the subjugation of Italy (pp. 1-34); (b) the conquest of the Mediterranean countries (pp. 34-64); (c) the period of the civil wars (pp. 64-109); (d) the Empire (pp. 109-168). These four periods are subdivided into fifteen chapters. Bibliographical notes (pp. 169-184), a chronological table (pp. 185-197), and select passages from original sources close the book.

The attempt to write a history of Rome from its beginnings to the year 476 A. D. in 168 pages requires great courage. It may become even more hazardous, if, in addition to the facts of political development, the author tries to present also those social and cultural achievements which sometimes play just as important a rôle in shaping a nation's destiny as do the more prosaic facts of political history. For such a task the historian must be not only a master of ancient sources and of the results of modern research, but must be endowed also with an unusual sense of proportion.

In full justice to Professor Cauer it must be admitted that his mastery of sources is unquestionable, although one misses, in the rich bibliography of recent works (which includes books published in 1925), such well-known books as Gardthausen's *Augustus und seine Zeit* and Rosenberg's *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte*. His sense of proportion, however, may be questioned. While he assigns to the period of civil wars, that is, to one century, 45 pages (64-109), he gives to the five centuries of the Empire only 50 pages (109-168). As a matter of fact in these five centuries Rome's cultural, industrial, and social conditions, as well as her methods of government, varied greatly. While the

author discusses quite thoroughly these latter elements in the history of the Empire, his presentation of the cultural elements is inadequate. For this drawback we are compensated by a splendid treatment of the development of Roman law and jurisprudence. The political, constitutional, and economic history of Rome are uniformly well handled. Students will also find the selection from original sources at the end of the book very useful and interesting, though they will miss indexes and maps.

A comparison with Professor Wilcken's Greek history inevitably suggests itself. One misses in Cauer's book Wilcken's rare power of synthesis and his grasp of essentials, which have made his book a masterpiece of its kind. Cauer's book, however, is readable and up-to-date, and may be recommended for those who desire a short and authoritative survey of Roman history.

JACOB HAMMER.

An Essay on the Origins of the House of Commons. By D. Pasquet, Docteur ès Lettres, Directeur d'Études à l'École des Hautes Études. Translated by R. G. Laffan, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1925, pp. xiv, 248, 7 s. 6 d.) This is an excellent translation of an important monograph that has been out of print. But it is more: the author has introduced useful additions and modifications in detail, and Dr. Lapsley's preface and notes contain a critical summary of the literature in this field since 1885 and valuable comment upon some of the conclusions in the text. Very many more scholars are now ready to accept Pasquet's main thesis, that representative knights and burgesses were called to the centre wholly at the king's initiative and to serve the royal needs, than at the time of first publication in 1914, and there is small doubt that this book has done much to break the Hallam-Stubbs tradition and establish the authoritarian origin of the House of Commons. Professor Pollard's recent conclusions are welcomed as supporting this, but are not accepted in all details.

The earlier part of the book remains, as before, the weaker part. The author retains the idea, shown untenable in Professor Adams's review (see this *Review*, XX. 139-141), that the king was extending to the new elements the feudal "suit-of-court" obligation. If he were better grounded in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and knew more about how the king was using the people in local government, he could have made a juster appraisal of Edward I.'s motives and accomplishments.

A. B. WHITE.

Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI. By C. H. Smyth, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. [The Thirlwall and Gladstone Prize Essay for 1925.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1926, pp. x, 315, 10 s. 6 d.) This is an exposition of the forces, theological, political, personal, which produced the religious changes under Edward VI. It does not pretend to be a life of Cranmer and hence does not replace A.

F. Pollard's *Cranmer and the English Reformation*, but it does present considerable material for the emendation of that excellent biography. The major part of Mr. Smyth's essay is devoted to a consideration of Cranmer's theology of the eucharist and how that was influenced by the views of his contemporaries, Bucer, Peter Martyr, à Lasco, and Hooper. Mr. Smyth's chief contribution lies in his attempt to disprove the assumption of most historians and some of Cranmer's contemporaries, that after the primate discarded the Roman theory of transubstantiation he first adopted the Lutheran view and later became a Zwinglian. Mr. Smyth shows pretty conclusively that Cranmer was never either a Lutheran or a Zwinglian, but that for a time after he gave up transubstantiation he retained the scholastic doctrine of impanation, and from this was converted to the view of Bucer and the Strasbourg school, called Suvermerianism (a term whose etymology Mr. Smyth unfortunately does not explain). While this position was later abandoned by all Continental Protestants, it became, because of Cranmer's wisdom, moderation, and consistency, the dominant Anglican view. Thus the archbishop saved the English Church from Zwinglianism on the one hand and from the Roman or Lutheran view of a corporeal presence on the other. Mr. Smyth also brings forward evidence to show that Cranmer courageously and persistently opposed the spoliation of the Church by Northumberland. The essay is based on a study of sources and is commendably illumined by frequent quotation from them. It is ably and interestingly written. (An English reviewer has pointed out the following misprinted dates: p. 34, 1547 for 1546; p. 147, 1552 for 1522; and p. 152, 1552 for 1532.)

J. A. MULLER.

Elizabethan Life in Town and Country. By M. St. Clare Byrne, M.A. (London, Methuen; Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926, pp. x, 294, 7 s. 6 d.) Miss Byrne's volume is a delightfully written essay on Elizabethan life, intended for the popular reader rather than for the scholar. The volume makes some contribution to the ordinarily current information on the subject, but for the most part it undertakes only to present current information in an attractive form. The new material is taken from the works of Claudius Hollyband and Peter Erondell, which were recently edited by Miss Byrne under the title of *The Elizabeth Home*, and from printed and manuscript writings of John Norden, the map-maker.

The essay opens with a chapter on the character of Elizabeth and the credit which she deserves for the greatness of England in her reign. The question is beset with difficulties, and they are not solved in this chapter, but there can hardly be any dissent from the point which is admirably made, that whether or not she was the moving force of English intellectual and political success, Elizabeth was at any rate its most admirable symbol.

There is then a chapter on the Elizabethan at Home, two on life in London, and three or four on the life in the country-side. In addition,

the essay treats such subjects as religion, education, the theatre, sports and pastimes, and superstitions.

All this material is treated with admirable freshness, which shows that the author has a first-hand acquaintance with the source-material throughout. A scholar who is interested in any particular aspect of Elizabethan life will be disappointed in the inevitable omission of much that is significant. The publishing business has scant mention and the conditions surrounding literary men but little more. The treatment of life in London is far too scanty to do justice to the subject. We should like to be told about the gallant, who takes his tailor with him to walk in Paul's, making notes of new ideas for the fashioning of his next garment, or about the servingman's bills on the *si quis* door. We should like to know more about conditions in the prisons and the sanctuaries, more about the enforcement of the laws (on which subject the author is rather unduly optimistic), more than the rather superficial discussion of life at the universities, and more material quarried out of Reginald Scott on witchcraft and superstition.

It is not a bad recommendation for a book that the reader should want more of it, and it is a question whether more could have been gotten into the confines of such a volume. The author has missed the usual pitfall of writers of such compendiums, by treating adequately the information which she does present, rather than spoiling its effect by undue encyclopaedic mention of information which there is no chance to present adequately.

The volume is well printed, but it deserves a better index and more illustrations.

The Godfather of Downing Street, Sir George Downing, 1623-1684. By John Beresford. (London, Richard Cobden Sanderson; Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, pp. 318, 15 s.) Mr. Beresford presents his life of Sir George Downing as "an essay in biography"—not, one supposes, to spike the guns of unamiable reviewers, but possibly as an engagement not to be too erudite, and probably as a *caveat* in view of the difficulty of confining a very busy and much over-documented hero to a career of three hundred pages. For Downing's youth was passed in the early days of the plantation of Massachusetts Bay, and he was nephew to the governor of the colony, John Winthrop. He rose to eminence in Cromwell's army and witnessed the dissolution of the monarchy of Charles I. Later he played a responsible part in foreign affairs during the Protectorate and Restoration, particularly in the all-important relations with the United Provinces of the Netherlands. He contributed effectively to England's progress in industry, commerce, and finance. He was a voluble member of Parliament. He christened, though unknowingly, a short but illustrious street. Harvard University in the New World and Downing College in the Old have reason to remember him in their academic prayers. The extant fraction of his correspond-

ence is so voluminous that his biographer was unable to read it all. Finally, he had a gift for irritating his contemporaries, with the result that they have taken pains to record opinions of him for the enlightenment of posterity.

Through the political and diplomatic tangles Mr. Beresford threads his way with grace and skill, doing his excellent best to humanize a curiously inhuman personality, and taking care not to frighten his reader away like Miss Muffet. He is inclined to indulge his readers, and to indulge, too, the persons he writes about. History is not a court to hand down ferocious moral judgments, but it should not be too easy-going. The best of Sir George's contemporaries did not condone, as Mr. Beresford inclines to condone, his stinginess to his mother, his hounding on the persecution of the Quaker James Naylor, the hunting down of the three regicides whom he shipped back to England to their deaths. And Mr. Beresford has apparently not noticed that vast as are the records of Downing's life, there remains no trace of a single personal friendship.

The author is to be congratulated on his discovery of the portrait of Downing in America, and of a portion of his journal in Norfolk. The chapter on Sir George Downing and National Finance is a valuable contribution to the history of the Treasury. It is really regrettable—not just *pro forma* regrettable—that Mr. Beresford did not find time to go through the unpublished Downing letters in the Bodleian and the Record Office, for they are rich in detail of the man and his time, and hold their original impudence well, after two and a half centuries.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789. Volume III., Denmark. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by James Frederick Chance, M.A. (London, the Society, 1926, pp. xli, 229.) In modern American practice, all written communications from the Secretary of State to ambassadors and ministers abroad are called instructions. The text of this volume is composed of instructions in this sense. Those communications of the British Secretary of State to the British ministers or diplomatic representatives in Denmark, 1689-1789, which were called instructions in the most literal sense were few, or were bare forms; they would be far from illuminating the whole course of diplomatic relations between the two countries, as is done in similar cases by the fine series of documents in the French *Recueil des Instructions*. To achieve this, Mr. Chance has been forced to fill out his volume with a selection of the despatches or letters sent by the successive secretaries to the successive ministers or other representatives at Copenhagen, the greatest number being addressed to Walter Titley, chargé, minister, or envoy from 1729 to 1768. Mr. Chance in a full and close-packed introduction gives a thoroughgoing, and of course competent, history of British-Danish relations during the century comprised in the volume.

The History of John Bull, for the first time faithfully re-issued from the Original Pamphlets, 1712, together with an Investigation into its Composition, Publication, and Authorship. By H. Teerink. (Amsterdam, H. J. Paris, 1925, pp. 250.) Teerink's introductory essay of seven chapters deals mainly with the question of authorship. Who wrote this *History*? Aitken, typical of scholars in our day, grants that it was "constantly attributed to Swift" in his own time, and that it carried on "the work done by Swift in his *Conduct of the Allies* and *The Examiner*"; nevertheless he finds every reason to believe that Arbuthnot was the author. "Every reason" appears to be a remark attributed to Pope by Spence and a series of references to the *History* in the *Journal to Stella*.¹

Teerink attempts to prove that, though Arbuthnot may have suggested the scheme, Swift certainly wrote the major portion of the *History*, which resembles not a little the *Tale of a Tub*. The most significant chapter treats the allusions to the *History* in the *Journal to Stella*.² Swift urges Stella to read the pamphlets as they appear, praises them warmly, asserts that he did not write them, and credits them to Arbuthnot. From a consideration of the whole *Journal* Teerink discovers that, though Swift frequently spoke with hearty praise of his own writings, he seldom or never did so of the works of others; and that, to mystify Stella (or others, should his letters be intercepted), or to induce her to criticize freely, he often called to her attention as the work of others his own pamphlets. In the case of the *History*, argues Teerink, his very denials amount to an admission that he was the author. The following passage from the letter of June 17, though it may bear an opposite construction, appears to confirm that conclusion.

"Well, but John Bull is not writ by the person you imagine, as hope! It is too good for another to own. Had it been Grub Street, I would have let people think as they please; and I think that's right; is not it now? so flap ee hand, and make wry mouth oo-self, sauci doxi."

Grant, as I think we must, the probable correctness of Teerink's contentions concerning the remarks in the *Journal*, and small ground remains for the ascription to Arbuthnot. Certainly the preface to pamphlet V. (in later reprintings placed as the preface to the whole work) is in Swift's manner and directly from his pen.

A. W. SECORD.

Répertoire Général des Ouvrages Modernes relatifs au Dix-Huitième Siècle Français, 1715-1789. Par Vicomte Charles du Peloux. (Paris, Ernest Grund, 1926, pp. 306, 45 fr.) The main body of this useful compilation is a list of works arranged alphabetically by authors' names (pp.

¹ G. A. Aitken, *Arbuthnot*, p. 44; *Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX. 147.

² See the letters of Mar. 10, Mar. 17, May 10, June 17, Aug. 7, and Dec. 12, 1712. Teerink, pp. 52-63.

11-263). This is followed by two pages of anonymous titles, and a list of the principal persons who have been the subjects of biographical studies together with the names of authors of such studies (pp. 266-301). A rough estimate indicates that the number of titles in the *Répertoire* must run well over a hundred thousand. The word *modernes* in the title apparently means that secondary works prior to 1800 have been excluded, although the collected works of such persons as Voltaire and Rousseau published in the eighteenth century have been included. Naturally there are some omissions. The *Vicomte* is obviously not too familiar with English and American works in this field. One notes, for example, the omission of Fling's *Mirabeau*, Cushing's *Baron d'Holbach*, Ellery's *Brissot de Warville*, Morley's *Miscellanies*. The work professes to come only to 1789, but if Aulard's *Histoire Politique* is included why should Morse Stephens's *French Revolution* not be also? If the works of Brissot are included, why not those of Barnave? Needless to say the work would have been more useful if the compiler had found it possible to classify and cross-reference the titles more systematically. As it is however the work will prove indispensable to all scholars interested in eighteenth-century France.

C. B.

La Jeunesse de Philippe-Égalité, 1747-1785. Par Amédée Britsch. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 480, 30 fr.) M. Britsch has devoted many years to the study of the House of Orleans. Until the appearance of the present work, evidently the first of a series, his researches have been published in periodicals.

The character of Philippe-Égalité has always had about it a good deal of mystery. Now M. Britsch comes into the field with the first objective and carefully documented study, and the reader opens the book with the expectation that at last this man of mystery is to be revealed.

In 450 pages of the most exhaustive detail, the first thirty-eight years of this career are set forth. Nothing is omitted, and much that has little bearing is brought in. We see him enter the world; no detail is spared. The story of his ill-conceived education, which neglected everything of value, his marriage to Mlle. de Penthievre, and the beginning of a life of libertinage, follow. He takes some part in politics, seconding his father in opposition to the reforms of the Parlement of Meaupeou. He becomes Grand Master of the Freemasons, but we are disappointed to find no corroboration of the old royalist myth, recently resurrected by Mrs. Nesta Webster, that the Freemasons had long plotted the overthrow of the monarchy. He tries a naval career only to be bored with it all. We leave him just before the Revolution, as restless and frivolous at thirty-eight as he was at eighteen. It was a life of amusement and drift; the life of a nobleman who because of the traditional jealousy of his family on the part of the ruling house was left without opportunity for action in the government or in the army. Behind it all there is no pur-

pose, no generous idea, indeed scarcely an idea at all. And finally there is no mystery.

M. Britsch has done his work so thoroughly that it will not have to be done again. The volume is technically well handled; though in a work of this sort, chiefly valuable for its many detailed references to persons and incidents just before the Revolution, one is more inclined than usual to make the conventional complaint about French books, *i.e.*, that there is no index.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750-1850. By Judith Blow Williams, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Wellesley College. Two volumes. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926, pp. xxiii, 535, 653, \$10.00.) These volumes will command for their compiler the gratitude and approval of all students in the field they survey. Part I., which extends to page 184 of the first volume, and which is devoted to bibliographies and works of general reference, will be serviceable to all who are interested in the period. The field covered is in many ways the most significant in modern history, and yet bibliographical aids have heretofore been extremely fragmentary and inadequate. The author has been unsparing of effort and successful in attainment, not only in the compilation of a vast number of titles but in their selection, evaluation, and classification. Manuscript sources are omitted, and certain more or less relevant topics are abridged, but any criticisms suggested thereby are silenced by the author's careful definition of her plan, by the immense task remaining, and by the painstaking and dependable nature of the work. It seems to the reviewer little short of amazing that the work as it stands could have been produced by individual effort rather than by collaboration. Few omissions that would commonly be regarded as important and that fall within the plan of the work can be discovered, but it might be noted that references to the work of societies for the publishing of records, as the Chetham Society, seem inadequate.

Part II., comprising much the larger part of the work, is a classified bibliography of titles under topics centring around two main themes: economic theory, conditions, and problems; and social relations broadly defined. Facile use of the work might have been promoted by repetition of some of the less specialized topical works under different headings, by the indexing of titles (at least of anonymous works), as well as authors, and by a more extensive "Guide to Subjects". The latter, however, is helpful, and generally accurate; only one typographical error has been noted—the paging of the entry "Commercial Policy". This entry illustrates the slightness of the clues in the Guide to Subjects to the riches of the volumes. But these suggestions call for works of supererogation in a task most difficult and extremely well done.

The fifteen volumes of *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons*, referred to on page 43 of volume I. as Sessional Papers, instead of consisting of reprints from the *Journals of the House of Commons*, contain reports *not* printed in the *Journals*. The inclusion of various works such as Cobbett's *Parliamentary History* under the heading "Publications of the National Government" is technically incorrect, but the author's introductory comment helps to explain apparent inconsistencies. The "Foreword" and the notes introducing the various groups of titles throughout the work are scholarly and helpful. The volumes are handsomely bound and clearly printed.

It is to be hoped that some one with equal diligence and discernment will survey the manuscript sources now so inadequately classified and described.

WITT BOWDEN.

Autour de Danton. Par Albert Mathiez. (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 284, 20 fr.) No development in the study of the history of the French Revolution in the last generation is of greater significance than the disputes between Professors Aulard and Mathiez. They disagree on a number of vital points, not the least of which is the interpretation of the characters of Danton and Robespierre. In this country we are still under the influence of the pro-Danton, anti-Robespierre writings of Professor Aulard. It is to be hoped that something will soon be done to make better known the opinions of the opponent school headed by Professor Mathiez. In a long series of always scholarly if sometimes declamatory and argumentative works, Professor Mathiez has maintained that Danton was an intriguing, embezzling, treacherous, double-dealing royalist and *ambitieux*, whereas Robespierre was an honest, incorruptible, patriotic champion of the people, who, after a valiant struggle, surrendered his life and his historical reputation to malignant and more powerful forces.

The present volume is not the most important of the works in that series. It is a collection of eighteen unrelated essays *around* rather than *on* Danton. The most interesting part of the book is the preface, in which Professor Mathiez trenchantly summarizes his characterization of Danton. The eighteen chapters that follow, most of them on some activity or other of some partizan of Danton's, bear out this summary in detail. A large part of the work deals with trivialities. Yet there is a mine of solid substance in it. Of the Dantonists, one learns that Basire was under the influence of a mistress who was a Dutch spy; that Fabre d'Eglantine was a debauchee; that Westermann and Courtois had secret understandings with the court; that Servan, Espagnac, the Simon brothers, Perregaux, Delacroix, and others were constantly engaged in plots to cheat the government on army contracts and captured loot. Of Danton himself it is discovered that he was in the employ of the royal family on August 10; that he admitted to the Duke of Chartres his re-

sponsibility for the September Massacres; that he was involved in intrigues to free Marie Antoinette from prison; that he enriched himself by pillage in Belgium; that his campaign for clemency during the Reign of Terror was begun before and not after the victories of France had made Terror no longer necessary, and probably in order to save his own skin. Despite a certain personal animosity that creeps into all of Professor Mathiez's work, despite the feeling one sometimes gets that he accepts against Danton flimsy evidence that he would be the first to repudiate if it were unfavorable to Robespierre, there is no doubting his industry, ability, and profound knowledge of the French Revolution. From no other writings on that field of history have American students more to learn.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK.

Le Général Hugo, 1773-1828, Lettres et Documents Inédits. Par Louis Barthou, de l'Académie Française. (Paris, Hachette, 1926, pp. 205, 20 fr.) General Joseph-Léopold-Sigismond Hugo, the father of Victor Hugo, was a man of great personal magnetism, considerable versatility, and real military talent; he served with distinction in the wars of the Revolution and the Directory and was rewarded by an appointment, in 1799, to Moreau's staff with the Army of the Rhine; his loyalty to Moreau aroused the natural and lasting enmity of Napoleon; in spite of this he enjoyed a few bright years with Joseph in Spain (where he gained the rank of general, only to lose it after the fiasco of the French occupation). For the most part, Hugo's career was one of thwarted ambitions.

The historian will be disappointed if he expects to find a critical biography of the career recounted in the general's *Mémoires*. The book is not a biography, but a collection of letters, too personal and intimate in their nature to concern even the specialist in the Napoleonic era. Aside from a few illuminating passages on the strategy of the battle of Mösskirch (1800), and on the French occupation of Italy in 1806, the majority of them touch upon family matters pure and simple.

For the students of Victor Hugo, on the other hand, the letters contain much of interest with regard to the domestic affairs of the Hugo family. The war-laden years of the Napoleonic régime entailed an almost continuous separation for the elder Hugo and his wife. From the very first, difficulties arose between them, which became accentuated with the passage of time; and upon these difficulties the letters are most informing. They make their chief contribution, however, when dealing with the relationship of the general and his children. Hostile critics have done Hugo an injustice in accusing him of parental indifference. Even when the conjugal atmosphere was most strained he was ever solicitous of the welfare and education of the offspring whom he rarely saw (pp. 81-83). Moreover, biographers of Victor Hugo have erred in stating that for over eight months after his mother's death, Victor could not bring himself to write to his father (p. 115). Finally, the letters throw into clear relief

the attitude of the young Victor to the step-mother who for so long had been his father's mistress.

As for the general himself, we must allow Monsieur Barthou to make his own confession: "Alas! His inventions (of a military nature) fared no better than his poems or his novels. Victor had been his best product, and to this alone he owes the immortality of his name" (p. 195).

DEFOREST VAN SLYCK.

Population Problems of the Age of Malthus. By G. Talbot Griffith. (Cambridge, the University Press, 1926, pp. 276, 12 s. 6 d.) The generalizations of Malthus are of perennial interest to all thinking men. Unfortunately, the discussion of the problems which they raise is more apt to engender heat than light. To economist, philosopher, historian, and even scientist, Malthusianism is apt to be either true or false, something to be condemned or praised rather than investigated. Mr. Griffith to his credit escapes this criticism. But he has not written, primarily, about either Malthus or his doctrine; he has sought rather to sift and classify the data, from 1700 to 1840, upon which conclusions in regard to population may be based.

The author's study is exact and penetrating. He explains fully the dubious character of the statistics which Malthus had at his disposal; he analyzes ably the effect of the old Poor Law on the one hand, and the decay of the apprenticeship system on the other, in augmenting the birth-rate; and the environmental influences under which Malthus wrote are briefly though clearly narrated.

Data of this description the historian already possessed. What makes this book of especial value is the fresh information which it contains. Mr. Griffith is able, for instance, to show that for the whole of the hundred and forty years under review the birth-rate rose but slightly; in 1840 it was less than one per cent. higher than in 1700. What caused the increase in population was the steady drop in the death-rate, due to many causes, among them increase in medical skill and improvements in sanitation, such as resulted from the substitution of washable cotton fabrics for woolen cloth. Moreover, while the diminished death-rate tended to make the problem of a surplus population more serious, the decline in the fertility of marriages, during the latter half of the period, made it less so. This "may reflect the results of Place's extension of orthodox Malthusian principles and the introduction of more direct checks than Malthus had contemplated". But in suggesting at this early date the practice of modern ideas in regard to birth-control Mr. Griffith makes a hypothesis which, in the very nature of the case, is difficult to substantiate.

The bibliography in this book is extensive. It seems strange that the author apparently has never heard of Michael Sadler's refutation of Malthus published in 1830, with its demonstration that ill-fed and semi-starved persons have large families, thus intimating that one way to

limit population is to feed well that which already exists. Furthermore, the author states that "unlike Adam Smith, Malthus did not tell the people the kind of things they wanted to hear". But the possessing classes in England, at any rate, were eager for the thing which Malthus told them, since it gave a logical explanation for the inevitability of poverty. Aside from these two criticisms the reviewer has nothing but praise for this book.

WALTER P. HALL.

Marx-Engels Archiv, Zeitschrift des Marx-Engels Instituts in Moskau. Herausgegeben von D. Rjazanov. Band I. (Frankfort, Marx-Engels Archiv, 1926, pp. 550, 12 R. M.) The well-nigh inexhaustible list of Marxiana is about to receive a series of notable additions from the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow. The Institute was established in 1920 as a Marxian museum and made the repository for a comprehensive collection of material, the nucleus of which was made up of several important Russian private libraries, nationalized after the Revolution. Extensive additions have been made as the result of research in Germany, Austria, and England, and much hitherto unpublished material has been secured, including notes, letters, and other writings of both Marx and Engels.

The present volume was the first to issue under the enterprising editorship of D. Rjazanov, whose idea it was to enlarge the function of the Institute and to establish as part of it an extensive research and publishing organization. Hence the *Archiv* and other publications therein promised. These include a collection of all the material referred to in the foot-notes of the two writers for whom the Institute is named, so that the student may have at hand for study all the sources from which they drew. It is also planned to publish a library of materialism, to include the works of Democritus, Feuerbach, Holbach, and others.

Volume I. furnishes something of an introduction to the theoretical background of Marx and Engels and provides a revised version of the long story of the establishing of the First International. This is told by the editor himself, who also contributes commentaries on the literature. The contention that Marx's debt to Kant is in reality very slight is supported and the true basis for a materialistic interpretation of history is found rather in the French and English writers of histories of trade and industry.

The amount of work necessary for the reconstruction of the original manuscripts here presented must have been stupendous. Frequently this was done by work upon two copies, the first working draft and a revised copy, each of which was deciphered by experts with difficulty and with the help of numerous photostatic reproductions. The original manuscript, shown in facsimile, illustrates the character of this part of the research.

The volume includes classified bibliographies of material on Marx, Engels, and Marxism, covering the publications since the World War and also the Lassalle literature for the same period.

AMY HEWES.

The Empire at War. Edited by Sir Charles Lucas, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. [For the Royal Colonial Institute.] Volume V. (London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. x, 501. £5 for the set.) With this volume Sir Charles Lucas brings to completion the narrative of the war-activities of the British Empire, exclusive of the British Isles, which has been in course of publication for five years. He is justified in saying of the whole work that it constitutes "an accurate and comprehensive survey of the actions and fortunes of all parts of His Majesty's Oversea Dominions in the Great War", and he is personally entitled to most of the credit for the achievement. In addition to his labors as general editor Sir Charles wrote the whole of the first volume and contributed extensively, as author, to each of the others. This final volume describes the part which the Asiatic and Mediterranean dependencies played in the war. Nearly half of it is devoted to an excellent account of the war-activities of India by Sir Francis Younghusband. As in the earlier volumes the narrative is clarified and enlivened by an abundance of maps and illustrations. It is perhaps questionable whether it is desirable to introduce into what is intended as a work of reference such reflections and judgments upon social and political trends as are found in the concluding chapter on India.

Das Französische Gelbbuch von 1914. Herausgegeben von der Zentralstelle für Erforschung der Kriegsursachen mit einem Vorwort von Alfred von Wegerer. (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1926, pp. xxv, 208.) The British Blue Book and the German White Book were hastily compiled and issued during the first week of August, 1914. The French Yellow Book did not appear until five months later, on December 1. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the longer period of preparation gives the French publication a correspondingly greater degree of completeness, accuracy, and reliability. On the contrary, the new German translation and edition shows how cautious one must be in drawing conclusions from a compilation which omits many important telegrams, rearranges the wording in others, and is guilty of at least one generous fabrication (No. 118, in which M. Paléologue explains the Russian general mobilization)—all done with the intent of incriminating Germany and relieving France and her Russian ally of responsibility. This German edition gathers together twenty-six wholly new telegrams which were suppressed from the original Yellow Book but which have since been revealed in part by Poincaré, Renouvin, and Bourgeois and Pagès. In a number of other documents it is able to add the exact hour and minute of despatch and receipt. It also calls attention in foot-notes to numerous errors of fact contained in the French diplomatic correspondence. It thus forms an indispensable corrective to the French propagandist publication, and will be found by scholars very useful for reference, until the day when France will follow the example of Germany, Austria, Russia, and England in making a full

and precise publication of her diplomatic documents concerning the crisis of July, 1914.

S. B. F.

La Politique Allemande pendant la Guerre. Par Charles Appuhn. (Paris, Alfred Costes, 1926, pp. 131, 10 fr.) M. Appuhn has not attempted to give a complete history of German policy during the war. He has, however, performed a service by analyzing, lucidly and dispassionately, the mass of material available on three important aspects of this problem. The first essay traces the variations in German opinion towards France. During the first year of the war there existed in Germany a general and profound pity for the useless expenditure of blood and treasure by the people of one of the ancient, though decadent, centres of Western civilization. This feeling was replaced by admiration after Verdun, and a large section of the German people evinced a sincere desire for the friendship of France. The military party, however, opposed the idea of co-operation on equal terms with the traditional enemy of Germany; instead, France must be rendered impotent to oppose Germany in the future.

The triumph of the General Staff over the civil government and the resultant effects on German policy furnish the theme for the succeeding essays. The crisis arose out of the Pope's offer of mediation. Bethmann-Hollweg and William II. favored a conciliatory reply. This implied the evacuation of Belgium and a "re-consideration" of the Alsace-Lorraine question. The Chancellor was removed at the demand of the General Staff, and the reply to the Pope ignored Belgium and gave no satisfaction to French aspirations. Henceforth Ludendorff maintained his supremacy by the Bismarckian expedient of threatening to resign when his wishes were opposed. The triumph of the military was also of great significance in domestic affairs. The conservative elements took heart and thwarted the proposals for democratic reform, which alone might have saved the monarchy. In his concluding essay M. Appuhn makes a brilliant rebuttal of Ludendorff's theory that the army was "stabbed in the back" by craven civilians.

RAYMOND J. SONTAG.

The Rise of South Africa. By Sir George E. Cory, D.Litt. Volume IV. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1926, pp. xx, 546, 26 s.) Since the publication of his third installment in 1919 the author of this work has been knighted and become a professor emeritus. For over fifteen years he has combined the arduous functions of teaching science in Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, and of pursuing researches in South African history. A year's leave of absence was industriously employed in gathering materials for this fourth volume. It is based upon studies in the government archives at Cape Town, in the Craig Dhu collection of books and manuscripts

belonging to Major Jardine, to say nothing of blue books, newspaper files, reports of missionaries, and conversations with eye-witnesses of the events with which he is concerned. Reminiscences of garrulous partizan ancients have naturally to be used with caution, as indicated by the conflicting accounts of the same incident recorded on pages 16 and 17. Sir George's chief tribute of indebtedness is paid to the late Dr. Theal, who indefatigably continued his monumental work till his eighty-third year.

As indicated in a notice of the preceding volume, in this *Review* (XXVI. 357), Sir George's work is somewhat restricted in scope and is marked by decided sympathy for the Boers. The latest volume is devoted mainly to the Boer trek, the establishment of the Dutch Republic in Natal, and the beginnings of the Orange Free State, with particular emphasis on the difficulties of the trekkers with the British on the one hand and with the natives on the other. The Kaffir War of 1846, with the events leading up to it, occupies nearly half the work. It seems to be inevitable in pioneer history that the author must perforce be a "traveller in little things". Yet while there is much about obscure persons and local affairs and while the pages are strewn with uncouth names of Kaffir and other negro chiefs, the reader gets vivid pictures of the hardships of the settlers and of the buoyant courage with which they faced them, though, at the same time, unfortunate instances of jealousy and dissension are honestly recorded. Among other things it is evident (pp. 174, 182) that formidable militant women asserted themselves previous to the present generation. Due credit is given to the British administrators and army officers wherever it seems deserved, but the final impression left upon the reader is that of rather inept officials, generally hampered by the home authorities, vainly striving to maintain impossible treaties with slippery savages who rarely could or would recognize the binding character of any agreements.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Americana: the Literature of American History. By Milton Waldman. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1925, pp. xviii, 271, \$5.00.) This octavo volume of 271 pages furnishes an account of the important printed narratives and sources of early American history, giving the historical setting of the various authors and describing the value and comparative scarcity of their writings. Beginning with Columbus and Vespuccius, chapters follow on the Spanish, French, and English explorers, and then on the general historians of voyages. The early history of Virginia, New England, New York, and Pennsylvania is succeeded by a chapter on the eighteenth century, chiefly the French wars and the Revolution. The two concluding chapters are devoted to early printing, characterizing some of the rare productions of the colonial press, and to American literature, in which a score of titles from Wigglesworth to Poe are described.

The story is entertainingly and in the main accurately told. Ostensibly the book is written by a layman for the general reader, rather than for the student, and as such it accomplishes its purpose of providing a readable narrative of the sources of American historical literature. The book is quite similar in scope to the volume issued in 1923 to describe the William L. Clements Library of Americana. In comparison, the Clements volume is more scholarly and more exact for the subjects which it covers; the Waldman book is more comprehensive in that it describes books not in the Clements collection, and is more entertainingly written. In fact the style is often graphic and the narrative punctuated by frequent comments that are enlightening and pertinent.

Since the word "Americana" is interpreted chiefly from the book-collector's point of view, there is constant attempt to place a money value on rare books and locate the number of existing copies, always a dangerous experiment unless one keeps up with all the latest developments in the rare-book market. As a result there are frequent overstatements as to scarcity. Xeres's *Relacion del Peru* (1534) is in the Carter-Brown Library; Hawkins's *Voyage* of 1569 is in the British Museum; Medina's *L'Arte del Navegar* (1554) is represented by at least six copies; there are a dozen copies known of Hariot's *Virginia* (1588); Crashaw's *Sermon* of 1609 on Lord Delaware is known by six copies in this country alone; there are at least five perfect copies of the Molina *Vocabulario* of 1555; and Mather's *Brief History of the Warr with the Indians* (1676), in spite of Sabin's note, was never an "introuvable" in American bibliography. The Prince Collection at Boston does not have the largest collection of the Mathers, since it is exceeded by the American Antiquarian Society and other libraries. There are a few errors in the spelling of names—Josiah Quincey, Gazateer, Paul Leicester Field (for Ford), Jose Torilio Medina, and Hawthorne's "Franshawe". There is also a curious error in the preface, where the author, in referring to the appreciation of book values, states that ten dollars, if it had been invested at five per cent. compound interest in the year 1623, would now amount to \$300,000,000. The correct answer is \$3,000,000 and even this amount would be considerably depleted by taxation. These errors are of minor importance and would be corrected in a subsequent edition. It should be added that the volume contains fifteen well-chosen illustrations and is excellently indexed.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1775-1778. Volume II., Minutes of the Schenectady Committee, 1775-1779. Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, Alexander C. Flick, Ph.D., Litt.D., Director and State Historian. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1925, pp. 1005-1283, \$2.50.) This volume contains such minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence as were not included in the first volume published at Albany in 1923.

Peter Nelson, assistant state historian of New York, in the introduction, points out that the principal part of the volume is devoted to the proceedings of the Schenectady District Committee whose records are the only ones "of any district committee that have even partially survived to the present". In the opinion of Mr. Nelson, therefore, "it seems entirely fitting to print them as a supplement to the record of the larger parent body". It is truthfully stated that a study of the work of the Schenectady Committee makes the reader "feel a little closer to the frontier conflict" than he does from reading only the record of the Albany Committee. The records of the district committee run from May 6, 1775, to May 27, 1776, from January 15, 1777, to February 7, 1778, and from June 15, 1779, to August 18, 1779; those from May 27, 1776, to January 15, 1777, and from February 7, 1778, to June 15, 1779, are wanting. Following the records comes an appendix of 124 pages, which contains the names of the different members of the five Schenectady committees, the names of their officers, a record of the attendance of each member of each committee, and a complete index to the two volumes. The record-material is similar in character to that found in volume I. It gives many valuable side-lights on the American Revolution in its social and economic aspects, and it offers many suggestions as to the extent and minuteness of the revolutionary movement. Like the first volume, the second is mechanically attractive and the records give every evidence of careful and painstaking editing.

ORLANDO W. STEPHENSON.

Development of American Architecture, 1783-1830. By Joseph Jackson. (Philadelphia, David McKay Company, 1926, pp. viii, 230, \$2.50.) This volume, though an independent work, may be considered a continuation of the author's *American Colonial Architecture* and covers the period which begins at the close of the Revolutionary War and closes in 1830, approximately half a century. During these years architecture was produced in America which was free from the direct influence of Great Britain. "There was the impatience with all that was old and reminded the people of the Colonial struggles. They felt that they had become a nation, and with the feelings of maturity they wanted to develop themselves."

It was the period of the laying-out and development of the new capital at Washington, and this city, Philadelphia, and New York were the principal centres of architectural activity, that is, so far as monumental architecture was concerned, each of these localities having been at one time or another the seat of the national government.

Many of the more distinguished architects were native born—Bulfinch, Strickland, and Mills—while others, such as Latrobe and Hoban, were British, and still others, as L'Enfant and Brunel, were French.

Mr. Jackson has made a geographical arrangement of his subject and has collected interesting data relating to the buildings and architects

working in the various localities. In many instances also, contemporary descriptions of the monuments are quoted and these add a certain vitality to the subject, putting the building into the setting of its time.

It is more from the point of view of the historian than of the architect that the subject is treated and the volume would probably appeal more to the antiquary and layman than to the architect.

The work of Strickland, in which he employed Greek instead of Roman forms, and which inaugurated what is sometimes called the Greek Revival in America, is referred to as an effort to "abandon British tradition and give to the new country a newer style and one in keeping with the economic conditions of the United States at that period, which would be simple in form". This would seem to be somewhat misleading, for in England at this time the architects had also turned for their inspiration to Greek models. It is true that the results were not identical, but it would be difficult to maintain that the Americans had initiated this movement to abandon British tradition.

The material of this period has probably never been presented before in a single volume and, while the period is not a particularly brilliant one from an architectural standpoint, it has a certain interest on account of having produced the earliest efforts in architecture of the new nation.

The work contains a bibliography and an index and is illustrated with reproductions of old prints. In a number of cases, unfortunately, the sense is perverted by typographical errors.

The Conquest of New England by the Immigrant. By Daniel Chauncey Brewer. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926, pp. vi, 369, \$2.00.) This is a book for every descendant of the Puritans, whether or not he lives in the land of his ancestors, to read and ponder. He will find in it the facts of censuses and state and town records. And if he catches the fervor of the author, the feeling will grow upon him that the account might better be entitled: the surrender of New England to the foreigner.

The Yankees built their civilization out of hardship and toil in the wilderness, bitter rivalry with Indians and Frenchmen, and the struggle for independence. But having established the equilibrium of "liberty" and "shrewd common sense", the Yankees "slipped beyond the point of balance". In exploiting the resources of nature and their own ingenuity they yielded to the lure of foreign markets. They expanded the industries of New England beyond the capacity of native labor. They sought alien workers for their mills and broke the homogeneity of New England's population. In so doing they weakened the foundations of Yankee culture.

The first newcomers, those Irishmen and northern Europeans who came before the Civil War, did not, however, threaten the social structure of New England. Notwithstanding the devotion of the Irish to the Catholic faith, and the animosity of native American labor, they proved

fairly amenable to Yankee ways. Nor does the author seem to feel that the influx of French Canadians was a serious menace to Yankee culture.

But after the Civil War there came a deluge from the southern and eastern parts of Europe—Italians, Jews, Russians, Poles, Lithuanians—inundating the land and threatening to sweep away New England's culture altogether. For this disaster, the author indicts the passing generation of Yankee industrialists. They have been partners in the wholesale business of importing cheap labor from Europe, without regard for the character, health, or fitness of the immigrants for participation in the life of New England. These Yankees have "accumulated great possessions", but they have "lost New England".

Despite some incoherencies of expression that perplex even after a second and third reading, the author's thoughts are strong and provocative of reflection. One may query whether these Yankee industrialists are solely responsible for the decay of Yankee society. Should not more consideration be given to the desertion of New England by those adventurous Yankee pioneers who pushed westward, and to the casualty lists of the Civil War? And perhaps, even had there been no westward migration, no slaughter of fine youth, no alien invasion, the personality of New England might have changed radically in the passing of time under the pressure of successive generations.

ARTHUR B. DARLING.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, October, 1925–June, 1926. Vol. LIX. (Boston, the Society, 1926, pp. xvi, 441.) The chief contents of this volume, named somewhat in their chronological order, are as follows: Mr. A. M. Tozzer has a paper on the Chronological Aspects of American Archaeology, outlining in general terms the temporal relations of the Mayan, Toltec, and Aztec civilizations. Dr. Worthington C. Ford gives an entertaining account of Sir Kenelm Digby's privateering voyages of 1628 in the Mediterranean, identifying his ship *Eagle* with the *Arbella* of Winthrop's first fleet; presents a body of papers on colonial commerce in 1774–1775, chiefly those of Zachariah Burchmore, who sailed for James Lee and Company of Beverly and Salem; and gives from the William Smith Carter collection a group of Massachusetts letters of 1775, mostly of Isaac Smith, uncle of Mrs. John Adams. Professor W. C. Abbott has a paper on James Bloxham, Washington's farmer. In reply to the late Senator Lodge's account of the Alaska Boundary Award, presented by C. G. Washburn in volume LVIII., Mr. James White's animadversions on that statement are reprinted from volume VI. of the *Canadian Historical Review*. Mr. Washburn has also a paper on Roosevelt in the presidential canvass of 1912. The volume also contains a body of letters of Professor Christoph Daniel Ebeling to American correspondents, 1795–1817, relating to his history of America and to European literary and political conditions of the time, especially in Hamburg in 1815–1816, and a journal of travels from

Washington to Niagara Falls and back, in 1826, by the British minister of that time, Sir Charles Vaughan.

Rhode Island Privateers in King George's War, 1739-1748. By Howard M. Chapin. (Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1926, pp. 225.) Mr. Chapin gives in full detail whatever history he can find of the exploits of some thirty-six Rhode Island privateers, all but one or two of them from Newport. Of two of these voyages we have exceptionally full information. The Massachusetts Historical Society has by gift from the late Professor Charles Eliot Norton the journal kept by the company's quartermaster on the *Revenge*, Captain Benjamin Norton; and one of the Jesuit Relations, by Father Fauque, gives a full history of the ravaging of French Guiana and capture of Oyapoc by Captain Simeon Potter, in the *Prince Charles of Lorraine*. But Mr. Chapin, by varied research in admiralty records and in the collections of various historical societies, has put together histories, and often very entertaining histories, of the voyages of the others. He has also a chapter on the colony's sloop *Tartar*. Not much effort is made to illuminate the history of prize law in Rhode Island. The record of capture is a remarkable one, especially when it is considered that Mr. Chapin's privateers averaged only 106 tons, ranging from 250 down to 33. Of two of the largest, the *Prince of Wales*, 200, and the *Duke of Cumberland*, 180, sent by Godfrey Malbone from Newport, it is recorded that "according to the custom of the time their horoscope was cast and the figure had disclosed that they should sail on Friday the 24th of December, 1775". They sailed out that day in a northeast snow-storm and were never heard of again. They carried to death 260 men, for these little vessels were manned almost to the extent of one man to a ton. The book has excellent illustrations, an index of ships, and an index of persons.

Valentine's Manual of Old New York, 1926. Edited by Henry Collins Brown. (New York, Valentine's Manual Inc., 1926, pp. xix, 388.) Students of the history of New York City have been accustomed to value the annual volumes of *Valentine's Manual*, which, scrappy as they were in arrangement, contained a good deal of antiquarian or historical lore. Mr. Brown has revived them in a modern series, of which this volume figures as the tenth. He has however given to this issue the special character of an informal description of New York and its life in the 'seventies. "In no other place in the world, I venture to say, would it be possible to treat of so recent a period as if it had already passed into history. Yet that is exactly what has happened to New York of the Seventies." In reality much the same has happened to the Chicago of the 'seventies and many another American city, but New York is fortunate in that a patient chronicler has taken the trouble to unearth or remember the traits of social and business life in that period, and to display the results in an exposition almost always correct, somewhat de-

terminedly facetious, but always entertaining. He presents numberless details concerning methods of transportation, costumes, pastimes and outings and shows, stores, preaching, in short, those "domestic antiquities" of which we read with such avidity in the case of Athens and Rome, but which we easily forget if old, and never knew if young, in the case of New York. There are many diverting illustrations, and many portraits of the "solid men" and famous beauties of that time, the latter from the Peter Marie collection of miniatures.

The Story of the Western Railroads. By Robert E. Riegel, Ph.D., Dartmouth College. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. xv, 345, \$2.50.) The author received his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in 1922, with a doctoral thesis on the history of the construction of trans-Mississippi railroads, and the present volume is evidently an elaboration of this thesis, with elimination of foot-notes and addition of chapters to give it a wider appeal.

A young man's first scholarly publication is generally a detailed study, based on original sources, of some subject in which he has become interested. The reader must not expect overmuch in the way of background, nor anything unusual in the way of literary skill, although he is entitled to look for accuracy and system, and some new contribution to our knowledge. On this basis the work is creditable. Its best chapters are those on railroad construction from Chicago to the Missouri River (ch. VII.), on pooling agreements in the Middle West (ch. X.), and on the Gould system (ch. XI.). The author's contribution is to be found in this part of the book and in sections elsewhere which also deal with railroad construction and operation in the territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. Other chapters discuss federal, state, and local aid to Western railroads, the construction of the transcontinental railroads, labor conditions on Western railroads, the Act to Regulate Commerce, and some other topics. There is not much that is new in this supplementary discussion, and there are some inexact statements.

It is not correct, for instance, to say that the government bonds loaned to the Union Pacific were at the rate of \$16,000 per mile in the plains, \$32,000 in the foot-hills, and \$48,000 in the mountains (p. 71). The use of the word foot-hill in this connection is misleading, if for no other reason than because there were no bonds issued in amounts of \$32,000 per mile either east of the Rockies or west of the Sierras, where most people would locate the foot-hills of these mountain ranges. Again, the author says what he does not really mean when he remarks (p. 70) that under the Act of 1862 the Union Pacific was to build to the eastern boundary of Nevada, and the Central Pacific was to complete the line. In the first place, the act mentions the western and not the eastern boundary of Nevada; and, in the second place, the company which first reached the California-Nevada boundary was authorized to continue construction to a connection with the rails of the other enterprise. The author himself refers to this qualification at another point.

In spite of such occasional slips, the narrative is on the whole accurate in so far as the reviewer has been able to test it, and considerable parts of it are based upon material which is not elsewhere summarized in print. There is at the end a useful bibliography of general works and articles, arranged according to subjects discussed in the different chapters.

STUART DAGGETT.

Illinois in the World War. Edited by Theodore Calvin Pease. Volume V., *War-Time Organization*; volume VI., *War Documents and Addresses*. By Marguerite Edith Jenison. (Springfield, Ill., State Historical Library, 1923, pp. xvi, 508, xxvii, 522.) The War Records Section of the Illinois State Historical Library has been one of the most successful of state organizations in the collection of sources for state history during the period of the World War. In the preparation of one of the volumes under review Miss Jenison has drawn upon these sources for a summary account of the activities of organizations which were concerned with the mobilization of Illinois's men and resources for participation in the war, and has appended several pages of statistical data. In the other volume she has presented some of the most fundamental of the sources: acts of the legislature, resolutions, messages, proclamations, memorials, addresses, statements, agreements, and reports.

In presenting such matters as war laws and their enforcement, war finance, food and the war, war industries, welfare organizations, and war-relief organizations, proper attention has been paid to state and federal relations as well as to similar relationships in national organizations of a semi-official or private character having state and county branches. The war-time organizations of Illinois, the functioning of those organizations for the mobilization of men, resources, and public opinion, and the problems of food, clothing, shelter, heat, and transportation had so much in common with those of other states that these volumes forecast in broad outlines the economic and social history of all.

Miss Jenison has listed the publications which were consulted in the preparation of her volumes. An equal amount of space might well have been given to a description of the mass of unpublished material, in the collection of which she had so large a share. No adequate description of the records in any of the larger state war-history collections has yet been published, and queries relative to such important records as minutes of meetings have brought little or no return.

N. D. MERENESS.

The American Transcontinental Trails. Edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, Director of the Stewart Commission on Western History, Colorado College. Volume I., *The Platte River Routes*. [The Crown Collection of American Maps, ser. IV.] (Colorado Springs, Stewart Commission on Western History, 1926, 45 maps.) The first three series of Professor Hulbert's collection, published in 1908-1916, were photo-

graphic reproductions of manuscript maps found in the British Museum and the Colonial Office Library, London. The new series will contain upwards of three hundred blue prints of the main overland trails of America and will be issued in four volumes. The first of these volumes, entitled *The Platte River Routes*, delineates the historic Oregon Trail from Independence, Missouri, to the junction of the North and South Platte rivers at North Platte, Nebraska. It contains forty-five maps (about 6½ by 8 inches) and a brief descriptive text accompanying each map. By reason of the large scale of the maps and the delineation of range and township lines and the "ganglia" which make up the trail, Professor Hulbert's volume will greatly facilitate a minute study of his subject.

Ácoma, the Sky City: a Study in Pueblo-Indian History and Civilization. By Mrs. William T. Sedgwick. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926, pp. xiv, 314, \$4.00.) The author of this interesting book characterizes her work as an attempt "to bring together and put into a form for the general reader, the story of that pueblo of the Keres people known as Ácoma, so far as yet discovered in the records of Spanish diarists and in those of more recent historical writers". She disclaims being "more than a compiler" who, "in assembling . . . fugitive accounts of the Sky City . . . has followed in the footsteps of genuine research".

Mrs. Sedgwick has done her self-assigned task well, and even more. Besides having compiled an interesting and authentic history of the "Sky City", in which just so much of the general historical narrative figures as is necessary to constitute a background for the recorded details concerning the pueblo discussed, Mrs. Sedgwick has admirably described Ácoma—both its physical appearance and its social customs and organization—at the present time. This description is that not merely of an interested and sympathetic visitor but of a critical and well-informed student who has viewed present conditions in the light of their historical development and setting. Furthermore the book may be cited as an outstanding example of local history. What Mrs. Sedgwick has done in compiling a history of Ácoma with such painstaking and devoted care, might be done, not only for a score of other Indian pueblos of the Southwest, but for historic places galore.

The first two chapters of the book are introductory; they describe the physical appearance of "Mesa Land" and the "Citadel of Ácoma". Chapters 3 to 9, inclusive, give a comprehensive and well-documented history of Ácoma from the date of the first expeditions into the Southwest from New Spain. The last chapter of the historical section discusses the relations between Ácoma and the federal government of the United States. The final nine chapters of the book deal with the legends, the social organization, and the ceremonials, rituals, games, and pottery of the Ácomas. A carefully selected bibliography of historical, archaeo-

logical, and ethnological primary and secondary sources, and an appendix containing brief explanatory statements by the author or excerpts from the writings of well-known authorities on the Southwest conclude the author's work. The book is excellently printed. An artistic cover design is from a water-color done by a Santa Fe artist from an ancient jar of Ácoma potters. Thirty-eight illustrations, only two of which are from photographs hitherto published, and several helpful maps ornament the book. There is a comprehensive index.

CHARLES W. HACKETT.

The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States, 1898-1925. By Moorfield Storey and Marcial Lichauco. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926, pp. xi, 274, \$2.00.) If it be permitted the reviewer to hazard a guess, he would suggest that the major part of the actual writing of this volume may have been done by the very clever Filipino associated with the venerable, learned, and brilliant reformer, Moorfield Storey; and that the latter's principal contributions may have been the writing of the preface and the revision of the text. Be that as it may, there is little or nothing that is new in the book. It reads throughout much like the pamphlets of the Anti-Imperialist Society, and, indeed, employs the same arguments couched in much the same language; or sounds like an echo of the propaganda carried on by Filipino politicians and their friends in the United States. The reader who seeks new arguments against the dangers of an imperialistic policy will not find them here. The volume is above all a clever brief worthy of a great lawyer retained on an important case. It is throughout an *ex parte* statement, and, as such, is subject to the same limitations as all statements of similar nature. Consequently the reader or student who wishes to get a true exposition of the policy or lack of policy of the United States in the Philippines and of the actual working out of our administration there, as well as of the motives that have influenced officials and public men, can not afford to trust alone to this book. The right-thinking person will naturally condemn acts of ruthlessness and no one denies that there have been such in the Philippines. But this book is a severe indictment of the people and government of the United States through their officials and interested persons. The inference to be drawn is that the United States has been acting in bad faith toward the Philippines since, and even before, the Treaty of Paris, of December 10, 1898. In this wholesale condemnation of the motives and deeds of the people of the United States and, on the other hand, the exaltation of those of the Filipinos lies the danger of this book. In reading it our moral pity may be aroused, but that sentiment should not deprive us of our sober common-sense. There is no doubt that the work will be immensely popular in the Philippine Islands. It may not, perhaps, be out of place to suggest that the volume may have been intended as pabulum for the Filipino *independistas* and their sympathizers during the coming presidential campaign.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Correspondence of Lieut.-Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada. Collected and edited by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, LL.D., F.R.S.C. Vol. III., 1794-1795. (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1925, pp. xi, 404.) This volume continues General Cruikshank's series, running to the end of April, 1795. It contains some 350 letters or documents, of which a hundred are letters of Simcoe. We have only to repeat what was said in our review of the first two volumes (XXX. 869), that the range of allied documents, outside of the actual correspondence of Simcoe, and sometimes taken over from texts already printed, seems somewhat uncertain, but that the volume is an important contribution, not only to knowledge of the early administrative history of Upper Canada, but especially to that of the relations between Upper Canada and the United States.

The Unreformed Senate of Canada. By Robert A. Mackay, Assistant Professor of Government, Cornell University. (London, Oxford University Press, 1926, pp. xvi, 284, 15 s.) The Senate of Canada has not always been treated with the respectful attention which is accorded it by Professor Mackay. Though styling it "unreformed" he pays it the compliment of studying its history and operation with exhaustive care. Obviously the problems presented by a second chamber are a hard nut for those to crack who endeavor to shape a federal constitution for a democratic population inhabiting a vast, sparsely settled country. In Canada the difficulties were enhanced by the presence of contrasted races and religion. Confronted less by a theory than by numerous and complicated conditions, the constitution-builders of 1867 created a federal senate in which the government of the day fills vacancies by conferring a life-appointment upon its own friends. In a world where every second chamber is a target for malicious pleasantries, a body thus constituted can not escape criticism.

Professor Mackay has no sympathy with the view that Canada should get rid of her second chamber. Such a suggestion he considers to be purely visionary in view of the veto which would be placed upon it by Quebec, supported by the Maritime Provinces. Quite apart from this very practical consideration, he finds much in the bi-cameral system to merit approval and perpetuation. No less emphatic, however, is his declaration that the Senate stands in need of reform. "Undoubtedly its greatest defect", he says, "is that in a democratic community, governed by representative institutions and wedded to theories of popular government, the Senate rests upon no popular foundation." The fact that in its membership there is a preponderating number of old, or elderly, men, he does not look upon as a necessary evil. If senators rest on their laurels "the reason is less the impotence of age than the lotus-land atmosphere apparent in every upper chamber endowed with dignity and bereft of political power". Professor Mackay also comments upon the

lopsided aspect which the Senate presents after one party has been in a position to fill vacancies throughout a considerable period. Here his view is that, though much of its work is non-partizan in character, its usefulness is seriously limited by a condition which tends to check government measures of a questionable character.

For many readers the most interesting part of this book will be found in its concluding pages (pp. 223-229). Here Professor Mackay presents a plan of reform which is designed to exclude from the Senate those who are possessed of insufficient merit. It is in the nature of things that any plan of this character should be rather complicated—the more so since the fixed conditions under which federal government is conducted in Canada do not favor simplicity. But Professor Mackay's proposals deserve the respectful attention which should be given to any suggestion put forth by one who has studied with painstaking and intelligent care the institution which he seeks to improve. He has written an excellent book, but we fear that the Senate is not likely to be reformed for some time. Mr. Mackenzie King has just been returned with a real working majority which should keep him in office for five years. Under such circumstances, and with the power of making numerous highly coveted appointments, he will differ from preceding premiers in Canada if he does not agree that the Senate "does nothing in particular, and does it very well".

The Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Compiled by W. Stewart Wallace, M.A., Librarian of the University of Toronto. (Toronto, Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. 429.) Mr. Wallace has carefully prepared an admirable volume, which differs from preceding dictionaries of Canadian biography in that it includes no living persons; it therefore includes no flattery. It seems also to have been prepared with much more pains than its predecessors, and, so far as immediate and somewhat rapid examination will show, it seems to be remarkably correct. About two thousand biographies are included. The articles therefore are brief—not as brief as those in a *Who's Who*, but briefer than those in the *British Dictionary of National Biography*. The plan of the articles is in general like that of the shorter articles in the *D. N. B.*, but there is, of necessity, almost no characterization. As a work of reference for biographical details it will certainly take very high rank. References to sources of information are given.

CORRECTIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Sir: The introduction to the extract from the "Recollections of the Marquis of Tweeddale", printed in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1926, states that "he had then forgotten to mention the fact that he was himself taken prisoner at the battle of Lundy's Lane", etc. The Marquis of Tweeddale was not present at the battle of Lundy's Lane for he was then in hospital at Montreal, having been severely wounded at Chippawa, twenty days before. Nor was he taken at any other time. The author of the sketch of his life in the *D. N. B.*, who quotes the *London Times* as one of his authorities, states that the Marquis was taken prisoner in 1813, but he did not come to Canada until May, 1814.

The "Recollections" state that "On Guest's Island there were four pieces of artillery playing upon us". A note suggests that Goat Island is meant, but this is out of the question as Goat Island is on the opposite side of the river on the brink of Niagara Falls, more than three miles distant.

The editor remarks that he has not found this statement made elsewhere. It is corroborated to some extent in a MS. account of the battle of Chippawa by Lieutenant James Driscoll, also of the 100th Regiment, which says, "A couple of howitzers placed on an island a short distance from the shore covered their right and threatened to exterminate the left of the British line", and later on, "The two guns on the island had much cut up our left".

If there was an island in the river there then it has disappeared, but it seems more probable that these guns were posted on the point formed by the junction of Street's Creek with the Niagara River, which may have had the appearance of an island.

Both Lord Tweeddale's and Driscoll's narratives were written long after the event.

Yours truly,

E. A. CRUIKSHANK.

OTTAWA, CANADA.

November 1, 1926.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Sir:

In his kind review of volume III. of the *Cambridge Ancient History* Professor Rogers makes certain references to my own contribution which—quite unintentionally—are based upon a misapprehension so serious that I trust you will permit me to correct it. My view of the late date of Deuteronomy *in its present form*—the italicized words are essential—

is not due to the recent work of Professor Hölscher, although I am, of course, acquainted with it. My indebtedness goes back much earlier, to the pioneering articles of my esteemed teacher Professor Kennett in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1905-1906. This view and others which I have developed in the *Cambridge Ancient History* were already adumbrated by me half-a-dozen years later in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and, so far as I have noticed, are not affected by the objections brought against Professor Hölscher's work. That there are "exilic" (sixth century) passages in Deuteronomy has long been recognized, for example, by Professor George Foote Moore in 1899 (*Encyc. Biblica*, vols. 1087, 1089); and my own view is that the book—which I should never describe as "not prophetic but priestly" (as Professor Rogers interprets me)—is a composite one, fully meriting his adjective "glorious", but manifesting in its later tendencies the "beginning of legalism". It is quite true, as he says, that "the conclusions of 125 years of criticism" are being reconsidered; but Biblical criticism is a progressive science, and both the external evidence and the new studies of the Biblical evidence itself are, I am persuaded, leading to a new position which cuts across old "critical" and "anti-critical" divisions, and supersedes various old controversies between "conservative" and "radical" writers.

Yours, etc.

STANLEY COOK.

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.

On page 156 of our last number, in Professor A. J. Barnouw's review of Dr. Bense's *Anglo-Dutch Relations*, appears, by an error for which he is not responsible, a sentence reading as follows: "If that is true—and no student of Germanic philology will deny it—it must be equally impossible to prove that Middle English words of supposed Low Dutch origin are not part of the Old English literature, which, in its poetry, employs an artificial diction and, in its prose, is strongly influenced by Latin models." The reading should be: "If that is true—and no student of Germanic philology will deny it—it must be equally impossible to prove that Middle English words of supposed Low Dutch origin are not part of the Old English inheritance. The vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon's speech must have been different in many ways from that recorded in Old English literature, which, in its poetry, employs an artificial diction and, in its prose, is strongly influenced by Latin models."

A note from the publishers of Krause's *Geschichte Ostasiens*, Messrs. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, of Göttingen, reviewed in our last number, states that the reviewer's indication that one of the maps in that work has been "reversed in photographic reproduction" is erroneous. "The fact is", they say, "that in this map, as in most [early] medieval maps, south is above and north below."

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Just before publication of this number of the *Review*, the Association has held its forty-first annual meeting at Rochester, N. Y., December 28-30. In addition to the features of the programme which have already been mentioned in these pages, others around which interest will centre are the luncheon at which reports will be made concerning the progress of the canvass for additional endowment, with speeches intended to promote and encourage the work yet to be done during the remainder of the winter; the discussion concerning the continuance of productivity after the winning of the doctor's degree; and the musicale offered at the Eastman School of Music. The circular sent out by the Committee on Nominations nominates Henry Osborn Taylor for president, James H. Breasted for first vice-president, James Harvey Robinson for second vice-president, Messrs. Bassett and Moore for secretary and treasurer, respectively, and the following for membership in the Executive Council: William K. Boyd, Nellie Neilson, Albert J. Beveridge, Laurence W. Larson, Frank M. Anderson, James T. Adams, Dwight W. Morrow, and Payson J. Treat. For the succeeding Committee on Nominations the present committee names Solon J. Buck (chairman), Charles W. Hackett, Percy A. Martin, Louis M. Sears, and Lucy E. Textor. The Council expects to recommend that the meeting of December, 1927, shall be held in Indianapolis, and names Dr. Christopher B. Coleman as chairman of the Committee on the Programme.

The Executive Council held a two-day meeting in New York, November 26 and 27, at which reports from committees were considered, and some new actions taken in contemplation of enlargement of activities made possible by increased endowment. A "revolving fund" of \$25,000 having been contributed by the Carnegie Corporation, for the publication of valuable historical books whose success may be too slow to ensure the favor of a publisher, the Council appointed for the work of administering this fund a new committee consisting of Messrs. Edward P. Cheyney, George L. Burr, Samuel E. Morison, Bernadotte E. Schmitt, and the president of the Association *ex officio*. We are obliged to state, with much regret and some surprise, that the committee on the George Louis Beer prize announced that no manuscripts had been submitted in competition for that award. Provision was made for printing, before the Rochester meeting, of the reports of the Committee on Publications, the Committee on Membership, the Committee on History Teaching in the Schools, the delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies, the representative of the Association in the International Committee of Historical Sciences,

Mr. Waldo G. Leland, and his account of the proceedings of the last meeting (May, 1926) of the Union Académique Internationale.

It is believed that, in spite of the usual unfortunate delays in the Government Printing Office, the *Annual Report* for 1921 will be distributed in January, to be followed in about three months by the volume for 1922. The 1923 volume of Miss Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History*, has also appeared, a volume of the same size and composition as the preceding volumes of this indispensable series, and prepared with the same exemplary care.

The Justin Winsor Prize has been awarded to Mr. Lowell J. Ragatz, assistant professor in the George Washington University, for an essay entitled, "The Decline of the British West Indies, 1763-1833".

In our number for last January (XXXI. 375) it was mentioned that, through a subvention of \$5000 a year for three years, the American Council of Learned Societies was enabled to offer a number of small grants (not exceeding \$300) for the purpose of aiding scholars who require assistance in the conduct of projects of research in the humanistic and social sciences. Grants are made only to mature scholars, experienced in scientific methods of research, and for specific purposes (travel, assistants, copies, photographs, appliances, etc.) in connection with definite projects. The awards, restricted to scholars who are citizens of the United States or are permanently domiciled or employed therein, will not be available for work the object of which is to fulfill the requirements for any academic degree. The year 1927 is the second year of the system. The awards for that year will be made by April 1. Applications should be addressed to Professor Guy S. Ford, chairman of the Committee on Aid to Research, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, before January 31. Circulars describing the form and contents requisite in the application can be obtained from him.

Students of history are also reminded that, the American Historical Association being a constituent member of the Social Science Research Council, history has a part in the scope of its operations, and that applications for fellowships and grants for 1928 administered by that Council should be sent to Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia University, before January 1, 1928.

The subcommittee of the International Committee of Historical Sciences on an International Yearbook of Historical Bibliography met in Paris in October, as announced in these pages. There were present Messrs. Friis (chairman), Leland (vice-chairman), Lhéritier (secretary), Pierre Caron, Handelsman, Reincke-Bloch, Temperley, and Ussani (in place of Senator Calisse, unavoidably absent). There also attended Messrs. Gatto and Muszkowski, while Dr. Oldenburg, secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad, and M. Tarlé, corresponding member of the same academy, were present for parts of the two-day sessions. It was agreed to recommend to the International Committee that the Bibli-

ography should not include books and articles devoted to national history, which are left to be dealt with in the numerous national bibliographies. The following scheme of chapters or sections was provisionally adopted: (1) auxiliary sciences; (2) general works; (3) pre-history; (4) the ancient empires; (5) Greek history; (6) Roman history; (7) Byzantine history; (8) the history of the Middle Ages; (9) religious and ecclesiastical history; (10) the history of civilization—letters, sciences, arts; (11) the history of ideas; (12) economic and social history; (13) the history of institutions; (14) the history of relations between peoples—migrations, colonization, diplomatic history, questions of the Orient, the Baltic, the Pacific, etc.; (15) comparative political history; (16) the history of Asia; (17) the history of Africa. The Yearbook will be edited under the direction of a permanent international committee, to be appointed, the secretary of which will probably serve as the general editor. In each country a group of correspondents or a committee will be asked to provide on uniform cards the titles and bibliographical information respecting the works produced in that country which are to be included in the Yearbook. These cards will be classified according to the scheme adopted for the bibliography and those of each class will be sent to the special editor of that class or section, who will combine them with the cards received from all the other countries and forward the completed chapter or section, with a suitable introduction, to the secretary of the committee. The special chapter-editors will be selected from different countries, thus widely distributing the work of editing the Yearbook and allowing numerous countries to take part in it. The bibliography will be a bibliography of titles, rather than a series of bibliographical articles as were the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*, but each title will be accompanied by a brief description or analysis, unless this is rendered unnecessary by the nature of the title itself, and by references to important reviews. Critical notices will not however be admitted. The languages of the international congress, English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, will be used in the bibliography, but titles in other languages will be exactly reproduced, accompanied by translations into one of these five languages. It is expected that final plans for the Yearbook will be perfected this spring and adopted by the International Committee at its meeting in May. The first Yearbook will probably contain the writings of 1926. To co-operate with the International Committee on this subject the American Historical Association has appointed a special committee for the United States consisting of Professors Michael Rostovtzeff, Francis A. Christie, and Lynn Thorndike.

The Governing Board of the International Committee of Historical Sciences held its first regular meeting in Paris, in the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, on November 25 and 26. All the members were present: Messrs. Koht of Oslo, Dopsch of Vienna, Pirenne of Ghent, Brandt of Göttingen, Dembinski of Posen, De Sanctis of Turin, Temperley of Cambridge, Lhéritier of Paris, and

Leland of Washington. Apart from taking various decisions with respect to the Sixth International Congress to be held at Oslo, as reported in a later paragraph, the Board voted to recommend the adoption by the International Committee of a project, originally proposed by J. F. Jameson, for the compilation of a list of diplomatic representatives of the various governments since 1648. A special committee was named for the further study of the project, composed of Messrs. Jameson, Bittner of Vienna, Temperley, and the secretary. It was also voted to secure the preparation of a brief survey of the present state of national historical atlases with especial reference to undertakings in progress, and to recommend to the Committee the study of a project for an International Historical Review devoted especially to articles written in collaboration by scholars of different countries. The Board further voted to recommend to the Committee the appointment of a standing committee on the teaching of history, to take cognizance not so much of pedagogical questions as of questions relating to the place of history in education and to the giving of an objective character to historical instruction. The Board also considered proposals for an international directory of historical scholars, for the creation of an International Review of Economic History, and for the appointment of a standing committee on historical method, but did not take action respecting them. It was voted to ask the countries which are represented in the Committee to raise \$1000 in 1927 by means of voluntary contributions, but the assessment of fixed dues was left until a later time. Finally it was decided to hold the regular annual meeting of the International Committee in Göttingen on May 13 and 14, 1927.

No. 1 of the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France) contains much matter of interest for historical students. Of its 123 pages nearly one-half are occupied with the record of the formation of the committee, its constitution, and the minutes of its sessions at Geneva last May. Then follow interesting statements concerning the organization of historical workers in nine respective countries of those represented in the committee, the organization of historians in the United States being treated by Mr. Leland. Finally, there are reports of several recent historical congresses: a Franco-Belgian conference on modern history held at Brussels, the first international congress on Byzantine studies (Bucarest), the fourth congress of the Scandinavian historians, held last summer at Copenhagen, Italian archaeological congresses held at Tripoli, at Florence, and at Cagliari, for North African, Etruscan, and Sardinian archaeology respectively, a Polish historical congress (Poznan—Posen), and last April's archaeological congress in Syria and Palestine. Information is also given concerning the historical courses given in the international gatherings of last summer in Geneva, the Hague, and Vienna. The *Bulletin* is evidently destined to contain much matter interesting to American historical students and deserves their cordial support. The subscription price is \$1 a volume (five numbers, with index). American subscriptions may be sent to the Yale University Press.

The Sixth International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Oslo on August 13-18, 1928. The details of organization and arrangements will be in the hands of a committee of Norwegian scholars, on which the International Committee of Historical Sciences will be represented by its president, Professor Halvdan Koht, and its secretary, M. Lhéritier. The following scheme of sections has been adopted for the congress by the International Committee: (1) auxiliary sciences, archives, documentary publications; (2) pre-history and archaeology; (3) ancient history of the Orient; (4) ancient history of Greece, Rome, and Byzantium; (5) medieval history; (6) modern and contemporaneous European history; (7) American history, history of the Far East, colonial history; (8) religious and ecclesiastical history; (9) social and economic history; (10) legal and institutional history; (11) history of science, learning, and letters; (12) history of art; (13) historical method; (14) the teaching of history. Within this comprehensive *cadre* a place will be reserved for papers on certain subjects which will be suggested by the International Committee after consultation with historians of the different countries, while the remaining space will be available for papers on subjects chosen by their authors. In general, papers will be solicited or received only through the national committees or other national organizations of the various countries (in the case of the United States through the American Historical Association, or such committee as it may create for the purpose). In this way it is expected that it will be possible to avoid encumbering the programme with papers of too restricted interest or of slight importance and at the same time to provide a large place for constructive discussion. Résumés of the papers selected for presentation will be printed and distributed in advance of the congress, but in order that this may be done the International Committee has decided that such résumés must be in the hands of the national committees not later than March 1, 1928. The sessions of the Congress will be held in the buildings of the University of Oslo and their schedule will be so arranged as to reduce to a minimum the inevitable conflicts of interest. As in the past, papers may be written in English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish. The fee for membership in the congress will not exceed 20 Norwegian crowns (*ca.* \$5.40) and a reduced fee will admit to associate membership wives or other members of the families of those who are active members of the congress. Reduced rates to Oslo from Antwerp have been accorded on Norwegian steamers and it is probable that advantageous conditions of travel will be available from other points. Further announcements respecting the congress will be made in these pages, particularly in the issue for July next. Meanwhile inquiries from scholars in the United States respecting the congress, especially as to participation in its programme, should be addressed to the secretary of the American Historical Association, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

PERSONAL

Professor Édouard Naville, of Geneva, one of the most eminent of Egyptologists, died in that city on October 17, at the age of eighty-two. He had been occupied with excavations in Egypt since 1883, and was distinguished for a long series of archaeological and historical articles, as well as for the book *La Religion des Anciens Égyptiens* (1906), and volumes on the Old Testament and other themes.

Professor Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, will teach in the summer school of Harvard University next July and August.

The following professors from other institutions will teach in the summer session of 1927 in Columbia University: Professors D. C. Munro of Princeton, L. M. Larson and A. T. Olmstead of Illinois, W. E. Lingelbach and St. George L. Sioussat of Pennsylvania, Bernard Faÿ of the University of Clermont-Ferrand, Charles W. Ramsdell of Texas, W. W. Pierson of North Carolina, E. F. Humphrey of Trinity, and Captain Holdridge of the U. S. Military Academy.

Mr. Courtney S. Hall has been appointed professor of history in Adelphi College.

Dr. Raymond Sontag, of Princeton University, has been appointed assistant professor of history there.

Mr. Donald L. McMurtry, formerly of the University of Iowa, has been appointed professor of history and head of the department in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

Professor Mary W. Williams, of Goucher College, is on leave of absence for the present academic year and is gathering data in South America for the completion of her history of the Latin-American people.

Dr. Arthur P. Whitaker has become professor of history in Florida State College for Women, at Tallahassee.

Dr. Ludwig Riess, professor of history in the University of Berlin, and well known through his studies of the English Parliament in the Middle Ages, is acting as exchange professor of history in Wittenberg College, Ohio, during the academic year 1926-1927.

Mr. J. B. Sanders resigned his fellowship in the University of Chicago in September to become an assistant professor of history in Denison University.

Dr. Bessie L. Pierce, of the University of Iowa, has been promoted to an associate professorship of history.

GENERAL

General reviews: Oswald Redlich, *Fortschritte der Urkundenlehre* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Henri Sée, *Histoire Économique et Sociale* [publications of 1920-1925] (Revue Historique, July).

The societies of Colonial Dames in the state of New York have planned to signalize by an award of \$1000 the best piece of work on some phase of the colonial period in American history written by a citizen of that state and published during the five years preceding January 1, 1929, or, in exceptional cases of high merit, unpublished. Preference will be given to authors who have not yet made any considerable contribution to historical literature. For further information, application is to be made to Miss Ruth Loomis, chairman of the committee, 24 East 63d Street, New York City.

To encourage research in the history of the South, particularly in the Confederate period, the United Daughters of the Confederacy offer the Mrs. Simon Baruch University Prize of \$1000, to be awarded biennially, for the best unpublished monograph or essay submitted, in the field of Southern history, preferably in or near the period of the Confederacy or bearing on the causes that led to the Civil War. Competition is limited to undergraduate and graduate students of universities and standard colleges in the United States, and those who have been students in such universities within the preceding three years. The prize will be paid in two installments of \$500 each, the first at the time of the award, the second when the manuscript shall have been printed. Essays in the first competition are to be sent, before September 1, 1927, to Mrs. Arthur H. Jennings, chairman of the committee, 2200 Rivermont Avenue, Lynchburg, Va., from whom circulars stating further details can be obtained.

The series of volumes called *Records of Civilization*, edited under the auspices of the Department of History in Columbia University, has been placed under the special editorial care of Professor Austin P. Evans. The forthcoming volumes noted in its announcements include a volume on *Calendar Reform in the Thirteenth Century* (the *Computus* of Robert Grosseteste and the like), edited by Miss Mary C. Welborn of Hood College; the *Slavic Chronicle* of Helmold of Bosau, translated and edited by Professor Francis J. Tschan of the Pennsylvania State College; *The Gutathings-Law and the Frostathings-Law*, translated and edited by Professor Laurence M. Larson of Illinois; a version of Otto of Freising, by President C. C. Mierow of Colorado College; Pierre du Bois on the *Recovery of the Holy Land*, by Professor W. I. Brandt of Iowa; *Sources for the History of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, by Dr. James F. Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada; the autobiography of Usamah ibn Munkidh, by Professor Philip Hitti of Beirut; and William of Tyre, by Mrs. W. M. Babcock and A. C. Krey of Minnesota.

In the collection called *History of Civilization* (London, Kegan Paul; New York, Knopf) there are published an illustrated volume called *The History of Medicine*, by Dr. C. G. Cumston, running from the time of the Pharaohs to the end of the eighteenth century; and *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, by Montague Summers.

In common with many others, we welcome cordially the reappearance of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, of which a new number, marked as vol. VI., nos. 1-3, came out in September. The last preceding number was that of November, 1922. The present number comes out under the auspices of Duke University, with a board of editors nearly the same as before, with Dr. James A. Robertson continuing as managing editor, and with Professor J. Fred Rippy of Duke University as associate managing editor. It is expected that the reviewing of important books which have appeared in the interim will gradually be brought up to date. The numbers are expected to consist of about equal proportions of bibliographical matter and reviews, and of articles. In the present number the journal presents a glowing poem on the Archives of the Indies at Seville, by Miss Irene A. Wright; an interesting paper of reminiscence of Simancas, by Professor William R. Shepherd; an article on the Policy of Spain toward its Revolted Colonies, 1820-1823, by Professor William S. Robertson; and a lecture on the Geographical Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese, by Professor Fidelino de Figueiredo, editor of the *Revista de Historia*. In the November number, received just as we go to press, there is an account of the Pan-American Centennial Congress held last June at Panama; an article by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., on the Political Influences of an Interoceanic Canal, 1826-1926; and one by Professor A. S. Aiton on the Real Hacienda in New Spain under the First Viceroy.

The October number of the *Historical Outlook* contains an article by Professor F. L. Paxson on the United States in Recent History; one by Professor R. F. Nichols on Biography, the "Case" Method in History; and one by Professor J. G. Randall on the Rule of Law under the Lincoln Administration. In the November number Mr. Herbert Adams Gibbons has a paper on Contemporary European History, and Professor W. H. Stephenson one setting forth the status of the History of the South in Colleges and Universities, 1925-1926.

No. 1 of vol. II. of the *Cambridge Historical Journal* maintains the interest and high quality which attached to the first volume. M. P. Charlesworth has a paper on the Fear of the Orient in the Roman Empire; Miss Eileen Power one on the English Wool Trade in the Reign of Edward IV.; Dr. A. B. C. Cobban one on Edmund Burke and the Origins of the Theory of Nationality, while P. C. Vellacott sets forth the historical contents, of considerable value, in the Diary of a Country Gentleman in 1688. There is a minor contribution, with some statistics, on the Middelburg Staple, 1383-1388, and, especially interesting, a body of rather important information on the origins of the War of 1870 which Dr. Harold Temperley has put together from the papers of Lord Acton, supplementing them with letters of Eugénie and Francis Joseph on the situation of Austria. There is also an unpublished memorandum of Aehrenthal (1894) on the Straits question.

Students and teachers of history who take a large view of its scope and content will rejoice at the creation, in the Johns Hopkins University, of a chair for the history of medicine, the first such chair to be established in the United States, and at the appointment to that chair of Dr. William H. Welch.

History for October presents three papers on Bias in Historical Writing which were presented at the Anglo-American Conference of Historians last July, by Professor C. H. McIlwain of Harvard, Baron Meyendorff of the University of London, and Professor J. L. Morison of Armstrong College.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1925, lately published, contains papers on How Massachusetts received the Declaration of Independence, by John H. Edmonds, and on the Trend toward Centralization, by Thomas Willing Balch. The rest of the issue is occupied by a copious mass of letters (pp. 170) of Professor C. D. Ebeling to the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, edited by the Harvard librarian, W. C. Lane. They relate mostly to Ebeling's efforts to collect Americana and to perfect his *Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von Amerika* (1793-1816). There are also, however, some long and interesting letters on the Freemasons and the Illuminati in Germany, in comment upon Professor John Robison's *Proofs of a Conspiracy* (Edinburgh, 1797).

The *Catholic Historical Review* for October has an account of Peace Laws and Institutions of Medieval France, by Sister Mary Joseph Aloysius, and the first installment of one on Father Robert Parsons, S.J., by B. F. Weisman.

The October number of the *Journal of Negro History* is one of exceptional merit. It contains the annual report of the director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Dr. Carter G. Woodson, editor of the journal; a brief address on Rural Economic Progress of the Negro in Virginia, by Professor James S. Russell; a substantial paper on the Federal Government and the Negro Soldier, 1861-1865, by Fred A. Shannon of Iowa, and a highly valuable treatise of eighty-four pages on Slavery on the British West Indian Plantations in the Eighteenth Century, by Professor Frank W. Pitman of Pomona College.

The *Proceedings* of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia for the years 1922, 1923, 1924, includes a paper by Richard Peters, jr., on Belmont Mansion, with some account of the Peters family, whose seat it was, and in particular a biographical sketch of Judge Richard Peters (1744-1828). Another paper is Early Christian Art as the Result of a Conflict between the East and the West, by Dr. Arthur E. Bye.

The University of Chicago's second volume of *Abstracts of Theses* in the humanistic departments, 1923-1924, includes summaries of a dozen historical dissertations, offered in the historical and other departments. The inquirer will find in the volume summaries, averaging

seven pages, of dissertations on: the Logic of the Early Greek Physicians (Crowley); the History of Educational Legislation in New Jersey, 1776-1867 (Harrington); the History of Educational Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1775-1850 (Schutte); Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Craven); the Political History of the English Working Classes, 1850-1867 (Gillespie); the Panic of 1837 and the Subtreasury Bill (McGrane); State Rights and the Downfall of the Confederacy (Owsley); Henry Clay and the Disruption of the Whig Party in 1841 (Poage); Aspects of the Economic History of Virginia in the Eighteenth Century (Tschan); Studies in the Economic History of the Ur Dynasty (Keyfitz); Syria under Mehemet Ali (Rustum); the Athenian Political Amnesty of 403 B. C. (Dorjahn); Samuel Daniel's Relation to the Histories and Historical Poetry of the Sixteenth Century (Roberts); the Hellenization of Christian Messianism in Paul and the Synoptic Gospels (Jackson); a Study of Persecution as an Influence upon Early Christianity (Riddle); and the Economic Causes of the Reformation in England (Marti).

Messrs. Ginn and Company publish a volume on the work of the *College Entrance Examination Board* (pp. 300), describing the operations and summarizing the results of a co-operative educational institution which has functioned successfully for twenty-five years, 1901-1925.

Father W. Schmidt, professor of ethnology and comparative philology in the St. Gabriel Mission House, editor of *Anthropos*, and Father W. Koppers have joined in producing an important volume on historical ethnology, *Völker und Kulturen*, I. Teil, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der Völker* (Regensburg, Habbel).

Teachers of history who wish to know something of the history of science, but to find that knowledge presented in small compass, will greatly welcome E. J. Holmyard's small book on *Chemistry to the Time of Dalton* in the "World's Manuals" series (London, Humphrey Milford), fresh, well proportioned, authoritative, and interesting.

A small book by M. Jules Cambon, *Le Diplomate* (Paris, Hachette, pp. 123), may with great pleasure be read as a pendant to Mr. Jusserand's presidential address on "The School for Ambassadors" (this journal, XXVII. 426-464). It is only in part historical, but that part has the flavor and advantage of the ripest experience.

H. E. Luccock and Paul Hutchinson appear as joint authors of *The Story of Methodism*, which the Methodist Book Concern has published.

A translation, by John M. Gitterman, of Franz Oppenheimer's *The State: its History and Development viewed Sociologically*, has been brought out by the Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York.

The Truth of History: a Study in Political Development, by St. George R. Fitzhugh, comes from the Old Dominion Press, Richmond, Va.

In the volume entitled *Historic Ships*, by Rupert S. Holland, which Macrae Smith of Philadelphia has published, all kinds of ships, from those of the viking age to the present day, are described, with illustrations in color from paintings made for the 1926 year-book of the United States Naval Academy.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *A History of Firearms*, by Major H. B. C. Pollard.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Hilda D. Oakley, *The Problem of Truth in History* (Church Quarterly Review, July); Ernst Meister, *Die Geschichtsphilosophischen Voraussetzungen von J. G. Droysens Historik*, III. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2); C. W. Alvord, *Changing Fashions of History* (American Mercury, September); C. O. Paullin, *Historical Predictions* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); W. M. Babcock, *Practical Uses of an Historical Museum* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, May); Frederic R. Coudert, *The Evolution of the Doctrine of Territorial Incorporation* (Columbia Law Review, November); Richard Ford, *Imprisonment for Debt* (Michigan Law Review, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

In *Les Peuples Primitifs de l'Europe Méridionale, Recherches d'Histoire et de Linguistique* (Paris, Leroux, 1925, pp. xii, 327), Ed. Philippon studies the origin of those peoples who, toward the middle of the second millennium B. C., began to move toward the lands around the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

An effort to reconstruct the history and life of the half-century from 1400 to 1350 B. C. is made by the Rev. James Baikie in a book entitled *The Amarna Age: a Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World* (London, Black).

A lecture by Dr. D. G. Hogarth on the *Twilight of History*, being the eighth Earl Grey Memorial Lecture at Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne (Oxford University Press), treats with brilliant insight the late Minoan period and the age immediately preceding.

The *Griechische Geschichte* of Karl Julius Beloch, which in its first edition comprised three books in four parts, has now been expanded into four volumes in eight parts. Of this second edition, the first part of the fourth volume treats of *Die Griechische Weltherrschaft* (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1925, pp. xiii, 734).

The Chicago University Press has published *The Business Life of Ancient Athens*, by George M. Calhoun.

The Oxford University Press has published a volume by Stanley Casson entitled *Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: their Relation to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip Son of Amyntas*.

A convenient survey of the development of historiography in the field of primitive Rome, culminating in the modern conservative reaction toward a high evaluation of tradition, is furnished by Corrado Barbagallo in *Il Problema delle Origini di Roma da Vico a Noi* (Milan, Società Unitas, 1926, pp. iii, 150). Relating to a somewhat later period, but likewise warmly praised, is Emmanuele Ciaceri's rehabilitation of Cicero, *Cicerone e i Suoi Tempi*, vol. I., *Dalla Nascita al Consolato* (Milan, Albrighi, 1926, pp. xxxix, 304).

In vol. V. of the *Memoirs* of the American Academy in Rome (pp. 113, quarto, 66 plates) the leading article is a careful description, by the late C. Densmore Curtis, of all the known objects obtained from the excavation in 1855 of the Barberini tomb at Palestrina, dating from the first half of the seventh century B. C., and containing an unusually important number of objects of gold, silver, ivory, bronze, iron, and wood; 43 of the plates are devoted to these finds. The volume also contains an account of the Temple of Concord in the Roman Forum, by Homer F. Rebert and Henri Marceau; a paper by Professor Tenney Frank on the Temple of Castor pledged at Lake Regillus in 496 B. C., and its successor built in 117 B. C.; some Further Studies in Pompeian Archaeology by A. W. Van Buren, supplementing his studies printed in the second volume of the *Memoirs*; and an account of the Sacra Via of Nero, by Miss Esther B. Van Deman.

In the *University of Wisconsin Studies* Professor Wayland J. Chase presents, with a learned introduction, the text and a translation of the *Ars Minor of Donatus*, which deserves to be known to teachers of Latin and students of history, as having been for a thousand years the leading text-book of grammar.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. L. Woolley, *Recent Discoveries at Ur* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October; and *Antiquaries Journal*, October); G. A. Barton, *The Present Status of the Hittite Problem* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LXV. 3); Sir William Ramsay, *Homer and the Troad* (Quarterly Review, October); Giacomo Guidi, *Gli Scavi della Cirenaica nel Passato, nel Presente, e nel Futuro* (Nuova Antologia, September 16).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: Ch. Guignebert, *Histoire Générale des Religions (1921-1926)*; *Judaïsme, Christianisme Antique* (Revue Historique, September).

An important contribution to the early history of Christian worship is Professor Hans Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Liturgie* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber).

The history of opinion, legend, and discussion respecting the Donation of Constantine is given in Gerhard Laehr's *Die Konstantinische Schenk-*

ung in der Abendländischen Literatur des Mittelalters bis zur Mitte des XIV. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, Ebering, 1926, pp. iv, 195).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: U. Fracassini, *I Nuovi Studi sul Manicheismo* (Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana, 1926, I.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The April and July numbers of *Speculum*, which we have only recently received, maintain well the highly scholarly and interesting character exhibited by the first number. Of historical articles we have to note, in the former number, one by Acton Griscom on the Date of Composition of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136). In the July number there is a delectable address delivered by Professor Edward K. Rand as president of the Medieval Academy of America, on Medieval Gloom and Medieval Uniformity, and a paper by John Dickinson on the Medieval Conception of Kingship and some of its Limitations as developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. Professor Lynn Thorndike has a note on the Relations of the Inquisition to Peter of Abano and Cecco d'Ascoli, and there are valuable reviews of historical books. The photographic facsimile illustrations which abound in these numbers can not be too highly praised.

The Legacy of the Middle Ages, edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, has just been published by the Oxford University Press. The sixteen chapters include chapters on Aspects of Latin Literature, by Rev. Claude Jenkins, on Vernacular Literature, by Cesare Foligno, on Customary Law, by the late Sir Paul Vinogradoff, on Education, by J. W. Adamson, on the Position of Women, by Miss Eileen Power, and on Royal Power and Administration, by Charles Johnson.

Medieval and Modern Times, by Professor James Harvey Robinson, which Ginn and Company have recently published, is a revised version of the author's *Introduction to the History of Western Europe*, published in 1902.

Vol. V. of *Peuples et Civilisations*, the general history edited by Louis Halphen and Philippe Sagnac, is devoted to *Les Barbares, des Grandes Invasions aux Conquêtes Turques du XI^e Siècle* (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. viii, 437). It is by Professor Halphen.

Vol. XVIII. of *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, published by the Prussian Historical Institute in Rome (Rome, Regenberg, 1926, pp. xii, 336), contains the following studies: Ferdinand Güterbock, "Die Rektoren des Lombardenbundes in einer Urkunde für Chiaravalle"; Robert Ries, "Regesten der Kaiserin Constanze, Königin von Sizilien, Gemahlin Heinrichs VI."; Karl Wenck, "Das Erste Konklave der Papstgeschichte, 1241"; Walther Holtzmann, "Unbekannte Stauferurkunden und Reichssachen"; Fedor Schneider, "Untersuchungen zur Italienischen Verfassungsgeschichte, II. Staufisches

aus der Formelsammlung des Petrus de Boateriis"; Karl Schellhass, "Die Franziskanerobservanten Johannes Nasus und Michael Alvarez und die Gründung ihrer Ordensprovinz Tirol im Jahre 1580"; Eberhard Freiherr von Danckelman, "Zur Frage der Mitwissenschaft Papst Innocenz' XI. an der Oranischen Expedition".

The late Professor Barrett Wendell amused himself by making an English translation of Eginhard's *History of the Translation of the Blessed Martyrs of Christ, Marcellinus and Peter*, which especially interested him because of the vivid scenes of life in the ninth century. This has now been published by the Harvard University Press, and will interest those concerned with the history of medicine and superstition.

The Morehouse Publishing Company of Milwaukee has brought out a volume on *Saint Francis and the Greyfriars*, by Rev. Dr. Ernest H. Day, and another entitled *The Story of Saint Francis of Assisi*, by Elizabeth W. Grierson.

The second volume of Canon Edward H. R. Tatham's *Francesco Petrarca* (London, Sheldon Press) begins with a valuable essay on the Latin classics of the Middle Ages, and deals with the *Africa* and the *Secret* and with all the middle portion of the poet's life.

A critical edition of the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua is being prepared from the manuscripts by C. W. Previté-Orton, librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Wilhelm Erben, *Ueber die Erwähnung eigener Erlebnisse bei Geschichtschreibern des Mittelalters* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Alfons Dopsch, *Die Leudes und das Lebenswesen* (*ibid.*); S. Stein, *Lex und Capitula: eine Kritische Studie* (*ibid.*); Harold Steinacker, *Zu Aventin und den Quellen des Dritten Kreuzzugs* (*ibid.*); G. Batault, *Saint François d'Assise* (Mercure de France, October 1); Pio Rajna, *S. Francesco d'Assisi e gli Spiriti Cavallereschi*, and M. F. Pugnani, *I "Fioretti" di S. Francesco* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); Justus Hashagen, *Papsttum und Laiengewalten im Verhältnis zu Schisma und Konzilien* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); Lynn Thorndike, *Lippus Brandolinus de Comparatione Reipublicae et Regni* (Political Science Quarterly, September); J. Hollnsteiner, *König Sigismund auf dem Konstanzer Konzil, nach den Tagebuchaufzeichnungen des Kardinals Fillastre* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Louis Lewin, *Der Tod des Papstes Alexander VI.* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); L. Gallois, *La Cartographie du Moyen Age et la Carte attribuée à Christophe Colomb* (Revue Historique, September).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Upon the model of Professor J. F. Willard's valued bulletins showing the progress of medieval studies in this country, Professor Chester P.

Higby of the University of North Carolina has begun the issue of a series of annual pamphlets on the present status of modern European history in the United States, published by the University of North Carolina (*James Sprunt Historical Studies*, XIX. 1, pp. 48). This first number consists of a list of persons interested in the field of modern European history with indication of their respective courses of preparation, present position, field of special interest, and publications. Workers in the fields of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic period, that of the World War, and Slavic history will obtain, as the result of Professor Higby's public-spirited efforts, many interesting data concerning fellow-workers. To the many important and interesting portions of modern European history lying outside these specialties American historical scholars have shown a surprising and lamentable indifference.

Gennaro Maria Monti of Naples, one of the most diligent of Italian archivists, has published a rich collection of new documents in his *Ricerche su Papa Paolo IV. Carafa con 108 Documenti Inediti* (Benevento, Cooperativa Tipografia, 1925, pp. 358).

Professor Paul Van Dyke has brought out through the firm of Scribner a biography of *Ignatius Loyola*.

The "Bedford" Series of Economic Histories, intended to afford English readers knowledge of the economic development of Europe as interpreted by scholars of other nations, opens with a volume by Paul Mantoux on *The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century*, and *A Study of the Fuggers and their Connexions*, by Dr. Richard Ehrenberg.

Professor Parker T. Moon has brought out through Macmillan a volume on *Imperialism and World Politics*.

The historical background of one of the most dangerous political questions in present-day Europe is studied from the German side by a group of scholars (W. Geisler, H. Hübner, K. J. Kaufmann, W. La Baume, M. Laubert, F. Lorentz, W. Millack) under the leadership of Erich Keyser in *Der Kampf um die Weichsel, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Polnischen Korridors* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1926, pp. ix, 178).

The Hoover War Library at Stanford University has put forth a catalogue (pp. 96) of a peculiarly interesting portion of its rich treasures, under the title of *Paris Peace Conference Delegation Propaganda*, mainly devoted to listing documents presented to the Peace Conference by the delegations of various governments or distributed to the public by them, but also embracing items of propaganda not thus authenticated by the delegations.

In *Papst und Kurie in ihrer Politik nach dem Weltkriege* (Illertissen, Martinus-Buchhandlung) the Ritter von Lama gives a well-documented account, by a German Catholic, of papal policy since 1914.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. Benoist, *L'Esprit de Machiavel et les Méthodes Politiques* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); Edgar Prestage, *Vasco da Gama* (Dublin Review, April); K. Brandi, *Die Wahl Karls V.* (Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., 1925, 2); Johannes Kühn, *Thomas Morus und Rousseau: die Geburt einer Gesellschaftslehre aus einem Menschenideal* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2); Inna Lubimenko, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, September); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Zur Schlacht von Lützen und zu Gustav Adolfs Tod* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); Gisbert Beyerhaus, *Abbé de Pauv und Friedrich der Grosse, eine Abrechnung mit Voltaire* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 3); Eugène Hubert, *Dissensions dans la Famille des Habsbourg à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle* (Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, XII. 5); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Der Prinz von Preussen und Metternich, 1835-1848* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2); Emil Daniels, *Die Politische Vorgeschichte des Krieges von 1859* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); Albert v. Berzeviczy, *Der Italienische Feldzug von 1859 und Bachs Sturz* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, August); Ed. von Wertheimer, *Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm und die Spanische Hohenzollern-Thronkandidatur, 1868-1870* (Preussische Jahrbücher, September); Wickham Steed, *Politique Vaticane [1898-1900]* (Revue de Paris, October 15); Émile Laloy, *Bülow et Rouvier après la Chute de Delcassé, d'après les Documents Allemands* (Mercure de France, September 15); Émile Bourgeois, *La Mission de Lord Haldane à Berlin, Février, 1912* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 15); B. J. Hovde, *The Socialists and the Triple Entente* (Journal of Political Economy, June); Marcel Chappey and Wilfrid Baumgartner, *Les Finances des Principaux États depuis la Guerre, IX., Allemagne [November, 1918-October, 1924]* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, January-March); Ange Morre, *La Démocratie Européenne au XX^e Siècle, XXIII.-XXVI.* (Nouvelle Revue, August 15-October 15).

THE WORLD WAR

The Stationery Office expects to publish during the next three years, in eleven volumes, *British Official Documents of the Origins of the War, 1898-1914*, under the editorship of Drs. George P. Gooch and Harold Temperley. The first to appear is the eleventh volume, dealing with the few weeks immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, and declared to present all the documentary material bearing on the subject which the Secretary of State and his advisers had before them at the time, including all relevant extracts from the Foreign Secretary's private correspondence, which Lord Grey had left at the Foreign Office, and that of Sir Arthur Nicholson. This volume, edited by J. W. Headlam-Morley, was published in December. Vols. I. and II., for the years 1896-1904, will, it is hoped, appear next year.

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The Division of Economics and History in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has in press, in its British series, a group of monographs on Rural Scotland during the War, on the War and Insurance, and a Guide to the Study of War-Time Economics; in the Austrian and Hungarian series, a group of studies of the Economic Use of Occupied Territories; in the Belgian series, volumes on Unemployment, Deportation, and Destruction of Belgian Industry during the German Occupation, and on the Economic Policies of the Belgian Government; in the French series, on the Effects of the War upon Transportation in the Occupied Territories and on the Economic History of Paris and other cities during the war; in the German series, works on the Effect of the War on Morals and Religion and on the Political Administration of Occupied Territories; in the Italian series, on Economic Legislation; and in the Netherland series, monographs on the effects of war in that country. It is announced that Professor Alvin S. Johnson will prepare a volume on the War-time Control of Industry in the United States, Mr. Walker D. Hines a volume on War History of American Railways and War Transportation Policies, and Professor T. S. Adams a Financial History of the War.

Plon announces *Les Organisations de Blocus en France pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918*, "under the inspiration of Denys Cochin by a group of his collaborators" (Paris, 1926, pp. 292).

An illustrated record of the assembling in Russia of the Czechoslovak army and its adventures in Siberia, by Henry Baerlein, is entitled *The March of the Seventy-Thousand* (London, Leonard Parsons).

Captain A. Thomazi's *La Marine Française dans la Grande Guerre* has reached its third volume, which deals with *La Guerre Navale aux Dardanelles* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 256).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. E. Schmitt, *July, 1914* [reviews of Poincaré, Stieve, Seton-Watson, Barnes, etc.] (*Foreign Affairs*, October); Friedrich R. von Wiesner, *König Alexander von Jugoslawien und die Attentäter von Sarajewo* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, September); W. L. Langer, *Der Krieg: Ursachen und Anlässe, Ziele und Folgen*, III., *Der Russisch-Japanische Krieg* (*Europäische Gespräche*, June); F. Charles-Roux, *Veillée d'Armes à Londres, 22 Juin-4 Août 1914* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15); Richard Grelling, *Le Conseil des Ministres Prussiens du 30 Juillet 1914* (*Revue de Paris*, September 1); H. C. Bywater, *What really Happened: Notes on the Battle of Juliland* (*Atlantic Monthly*, November); Manfredi Gravina, *Il Libro Arancione Russo e la Questione degli Stretti alla Luce di Nuovi Documenti* (*Nuova Antologia*, August 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: Ch. Bémont, *Histoire de la Grande-Bretagne* (*Revue Historique*, September).

The Ford lecturer for 1927 at Oxford will be Professor F. M. Powicke, of the University of Manchester.

Professor William T. Laprade has brought out through Macmillan a *British History for American Students*, intended for use as a college text-book.

The seventh volume of the *Unity Series* contains a dozen essays, arranged and edited by F. S. Marvin, on *England and the World*, the international relations of England being traced in historical order by Dr. A. J. Carlyle, Professor A. J. Grant, Dr. G. P. Gooch, and others.

In continuation of a series in which Flemish, French, and Italian miniatures have already been treated, the publishing house of G. Van Oest of Brussels and Paris brings out a book on *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century* (pp. 160 and 160 color-type plates), by Eric G. Millar of the British Museum.

Dr. Robert L. Henry, formerly professor of law in the University of Iowa, publishes through Longmans a volume of discussions and documents on *Contracts in the Local Courts of Medieval England*.

Mr. P. B. M. Allen, continuing the work of the late Canon Westlake, has now made ready for the press the first volume of the proposed publication of *Westminster Abbey Documents*, which will go forward if further subscribers are secured. The material for this volume consists of a series of early royal charters, and of more than 1200 documents relating mainly to Berkshire, Essex, Lincolnshire, Middlesex, and Warwickshire.

Edward Hutton has written a history of *The Franciscans in England* (London, Constable) covering the whole period from the landing of the friars in 1224 to the suppression of the order by Henry VIII., 1538-1539.

The Chetham Society has published a *Calendar of County Court, City Court, and Eyre Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297* (pp. lx, 304), edited, with a careful introduction, by R. Stewart-Brown, comprising a calendar, and in the case of many entries somewhat more, of the earliest extant rolls of the courts of the county palatine of Chester. Their importance for legal history is obvious. The eyre roll is that of Macclesfield. The same society has also brought out *A History of the Township and Manor of Clayton-le-Moors, Co. Lancaster* (pp. xi, 175), by Richard Trappes-Lomax.

The Oxford University Press is issuing two volumes on *John Wyclif: a Study of the English Medieval Church*, by Dr. Herbert B. Workman, who examines both the life and the works of Wyclif.

In a series which the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is devoting to "The Historic Monuments of England" Mr. Arthur R. Green has a competent volume on *Sundials, Incised Dials, or Mass-Clocks* (pp. xx, 203), containing full discussion of types, with elaborate illustrations, and a catalogue *raisonné* of examples visited.

The Somerset Record Society publishes as its fortieth volume a book of *Medieval Wills from Wells* (pp. ix, 298) in which are printed full and careful summaries of some five hundred wills of 1543-1546 and 1554-1556 found in the Diocesan Registry at Wells. Much material illustrative of social history is in the volume, which is fully indexed. The society, which lately published a volume of *Accounts of the Chamberlains of the City of Bath*, expects before long to publish a third volume of *Somersetshire Pleas*, temp. Edw. I., continuing two previous volumes of which the second ended with 1272.

John Howell of San Francisco has published *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World: its Aims and Achievements*, by Henry R. Wagner.

Vol. III. of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry* (Stationery Office, pp. 487) forms a second series of the Montagu Papers, edited by the late R. E. G. Kirk. It contains papers running from 1538 to 1649, but mostly of the last fifty of those years. They are papers bearing upon the family history of the Montagus, especially the first Baron Montagu, letters and papers connected with the affairs of Northamptonshire, and notes of proceedings in the House of Commons in 1604, 1606, and 1607, taken by Sir Edward Montagu, and in the Lords, after his elevation to the peerage as Baron Montagu, for various dates from 1621 to 1641.

The Lincoln Record Society, under the capable editorship of Canon C. W. Foster, has published the first volume of *The State of the Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, as illustrated by documents relating to the diocese of Lincoln.

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *The Life of Charles the First, the Royal Martyr*, by Charles W. Coit.

A new volume of the Harvard Economic Studies lately published by the university press is *Forests and Sea Power: the Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862*, by Robert G. Albion, assistant professor in Princeton University.

A popular one-volume abridgment (615 pp.) of the Wheatley edition of the Diary of Samuel Pepys, entitled *Everybody's Pepys, 1660-1669*, edited by O. F. Morshead and cleverly illustrated by E. H. Shephard, has been brought out by Harcourt Brace and Company. Great care has been taken to preserve a coherent, well-balanced picture of the daily life of Pepys, as representative of the life of his time. To do this it has been necessary to eliminate many of the references to and opinions on the public affairs of the period, which are most valuable to the historian. The introduction has been shortened to a few pages giving the bare facts of Pepys's ancestry, birth, and relations, and a large part of the foot-notes has been omitted. The spelling and punctuation of the Wheatley edition have been preserved, but there has been no attempt to indicate omissions.

As the publisher indicates, it is an edition for "everybody" who would be frightened away by the length of the complete Wheatley edition.

Dr. Norman Sykes of King's College, London, has just published a *Memoir of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669-1748: a Study in Politics and Religion in the Eighteenth Century* (Clarendon Press), based on the bishop's papers.

Students of social history will value *The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century: a Study in Social and Administrative History from 1662 to 1782* (London, Routledge), by Dr. Dorothy Marshall. Upon the studies published by Mrs. George, Miss Marshall, and Mr. Griffith follows an important volume by Miss M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth, and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution* (London, Routledge), tracing the improvement of material conditions between 1760 and 1815 and studying the notable increase of British population.

The first of a series of *Benedictine Historical Monographs*, issued from St. Anselm's Priory at Washington, is a pamphlet of 40 pages, by Summerfield Baldwin, on *The Catholic Negotiation of 1717-1719*, meaning, the negotiations of the English Catholics as to the possibility of their taking oaths of allegiance to King George.

Professor Clarence W. Alvord's lecture, *Lord Shelburne and the Founding of British-American Goodwill* (British Academy: Raleigh Lecture on History), has been published by the Oxford University Press.

The Naval Record Society will issue, on the subscription for 1926, vol. I. of the *Letters of Admiral Viscount Keith*, and vol. II. of the *Letters of Lord St. Vincent*.

In *David Hartley, M. P., an Advocate of Conciliation, 1774-1783* (University of California, pp. 110), a young English scholar, George H. Guttridge, presents on the basis of Hartley papers in Washington and Cambridge an intelligent and useful account of Hartley's relations to American independence and the treaty of 1783.

The Gordon Riots, by J. Paul de Castro (Oxford University Press), gives a day-to-day account based on thorough study and establishing many new facts.

Dr. W. L. Mathieson's *British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838* (Longmans), will be of much value to students of slavery in the United States as well as in the British West Indies. Meanwhile the Yale University Press has brought out *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England: a Study in English Humanitarianism*, by Professor Frank J. Klingberg of the University of California, Southern Branch.

The second volume of G. D. H. Cole's *Short History of the British Working-Class Movement* (London, Allen and Unwin), issued in November, carries the record from 1848 to 1900; the third volume will continue the narrative down to the present day.

The Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain, 1884-1924 (London, Faber and Gwyer), by Joseph Clayton, is by one who took a part of some importance in the socialistic movement, but depicts the rise of the Labor Party as marking the decline of socialism.

The biography of an important figure in the social and political life of the latter part of the Victorian period is presented in *Henry Chaplin: a Memoir*, prepared by his daughter, the Marchioness of Londonderry (London, Macmillan). From 1889 to 1892 he was president of the Board of Agriculture, the first incumbent of that office.

A Bibliography of Sir Adolphus William Ward, 1837-1924 (pp. xxxiv, 99), by A. T. Bartholomew, is published by the Cambridge University Press, with a reprint of the short memoir by Professor T. F. Tout which was written for the *Proceedings* of the British Academy.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's *The Life and Letters of Lord Bryce* (Macmillan), announced for the autumn, will be published early in the present year.

British War Budgets (Oxford University Press), by F. W. Hirst and J. E. Allen, describes the twelve budgets passed from 1914 to 1924, after the same method adopted by Sir Stafford Northcote in his *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, with a discussion of criticisms made.

Soldiers and Statesmen, 1914-1918 (London, Cassell; New York, Scribner), by Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, is an important account of the relations between the ministry of that period and the chief of the Imperial General Staff during the period while that office was held by the author.

To the series of "Victoria Histories" the latest addition is vol. I. of the *Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon*, edited by William Page and Granville Proby (London, St. Catherine Press).

The *Scottish Historical Review* for October has articles by Sir J. Philip Hamilton-Grierson on Falsing the Doom, a procedure in Scots law for complaint of false judgment; on the mystery of Maitland, meaning his change of attitude with respect to Queen Mary, by Maurice Wilkinson; and on the Negotiation of a Commercial Treaty between England and Scotland in 1668, by Edward Hughes.

Documentary publications: *The Great Register of Lichfield Cathedral, known as Magnum Registrum Album*, ed. Very Rev. H. E. Savage, dean of Lichfield (William Salt Archaeological Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dom Basil Whelan, *The Maid of Kent* (Dublin Review, October); G. Constant, *La Suppression des Monastères Anglais, 1536-1540* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); L. Frati, *L'Inghilterra alla Fine del Seicento, secondo il Diario Inedito di un Contemporaneo Italiano* (Nuova Antologia, September 16); Capt. A. C. Dewar, R. N., *The Naval Administration of the Interregnum* (Mari-

ner's Mirror, October); Erich Brandenburg, *Die Memoiren Greys* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 2).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 424; for India, see p. 408)

Messrs. Longmans have brought out *The Reformation in Dublin, 1536-1558*, by Myles V. Ronan.

New light on the secret history of Ireland between 1916 and 1922 is presented in the official history of *Michael Collins and the Making of a New Ireland*, by Pierce Beasley (London, Harrap, 2 vols.).

Dr. Temistocle Zammit, formerly rector of the University of Malta, provides a careful history of his native island from the earliest times to 1884 in *Malta: the Islands and their History* (Valetta, Malta Herald Office, pp. viii, 456).

The Archives Commission of the Union of South Africa has undertaken to supplement the late Dr. Theal's *Records of Cape Colony*, which began with 1793, by printing archival documents for the early history of the colony. The first will be a series running from 1778 to 1793. Of this a volume of resolutions of the Political Council, official journal of transactions, incoming and outgoing letters, for the year 1778, all in Dutch, is now printed, *Kaapse Archiefstukken lopende over het Jaar 1778*, prepared by Miss Kathleen M. Jeffreys, with excellent indexes.

The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament has published vol. XXVI. of *Historical Records of Australia* (pp. xvii, 873), embracing governors' despatches to and from England from October, 1847, to December, 1848.

In the March number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* Thomas O'Callaghan presents the first installment of a paper entitled Fictitious History, wherein he attacks some erroneous statements early perpetrated and long propagated with respect to Australian history.

FRANCE

General reviews: Louis Halphen, *Histoire de France; le Moyen Age jusqu'aux Valois* (Revue Historique, July); Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France; Fin du Moyen Age, 1328-1408* (*ibid.*); Eduard Wechssler, *Zur Kenntniss des Jüngsten Frankreich* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV. 3).

An imposing official publication of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts is the *Tables Générales des Bulletins du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, II., *Bulletin Historique et Philologique, 1882-1915*, exhaustively compiled by the secretary of the committee, Gaston de Bar (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1925, pp. ix, 891).

The principal French societies having to do with colonial studies have formed a committee to organize an historical exposition of the French colonies in North America, to be opened in March, 1928, in the *salons* of the Hotel Bonaparte, the home of the Société de Géographie.

The New York Public Library has published, in a stout volume of 885 pages, a bibliographical list of what it contains for *Provençal Literature and Language*, including the local history of southern France, compiled by Daniel C. Haskell.

A life of *Le Cardinal François de la Rochefoucauld*, churchman and statesman of the early seventeenth century, has been written by Gabriel de la Rochefoucauld (Paris, Plon, 1926, pp. 404).

Louis XIV. et la Cour d'après Trois Témoins Nouveaux, Bélise, Beauvillier, Chamillart, is the title of a volume prepared by Marcel Langlois for the *Coll. Mémoires Historiques* (Paris, Michel, 1926, pp. 336).

Much new light on industrial activities in France during the period between 1780 and 1815, and especially on the securing of inventions and artisans from England, is to be found in *L'Introduction du Machinisme dans l'Industrie Française* (Paris, F. Rieder, pp. lvii, 575), by Charles Ballot, a young French scholar who was killed at Verdun in December, 1917.

Miss E. D. Bradby's *Short History of the French Revolution* (Oxford, Clarendon Press) represents a remarkable effort, on the part of a learned scholar, to compress a great story within a small compass.

Two volumes of interest to students of the Revolutionary period are *Marie-Antoinette et l'Énigme du Collier* by Frantz Funck-Brentano (Paris, Tallandier, 1926, pp. 296) and the *Correspondance de Maximilien et Augustin Robespierre*, edited by Georges Michon (Paris, Alcan, 1926, pp. 534).

The *Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen, and Barnave*, edited by O. G. de Heidenstam, have just been published, in English translation, by Messrs. John Lane of London.

Louis Barthou, the former premier, has described *Le Neuf Thermidor* in the series *Récits d'Autrefois* (Paris, Hachette, 1926).

Lewis Claflin Breed, of Boston, has prepared a volume of some 350 pages entitled *The Opinions and Reflections of Napoleon* (Boston, Four Seas Company), a comprehensive collection of Napoleon's opinions on twenty-three subjects of human interest, exclusive of military activities.

La France et les Grandes Puissances du Monde, 1830-1880, by G. Guenin and J. Nouaillac (Paris, Plon, 1925, pp. 477), is a source-book, containing extracts from the writings of the leading statesmen in the period involved.

Thiers and the French Monarchy, a documented history of France during the period from 1798 to 1848, by J. M. S. Allison of Yale University, is published in London by Constable, and in Boston and New York by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

To the *Récits d'Autrefois* is added a lively recital of *Les Conspirations de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte: Strasbourg, Boulogne*, by Gabriel Perreux (Paris, Hachette, 1926, pp. 124).

The admirable *Bibliographie Lorraine*, commenced in 1910 by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Nancy, has received its sixth volume, including publications of 1922 and 1923 (Nancy, Berger, 1925, pp. xii, 415). The Faculty of Letters of Strasbourg, following its example, have produced the *Bibliographie Alsacienne*, vol. II., works of 1921-1924 (Paris, Belles-Lettres, 1926, pp. xii, 460).

Whoever wishes to study thoroughly, by the example of one department, the history of French administration during the Napoleonic period, will be well advised to read the two volumes of *Le Département des Côtes-du-Nord sous le Consulat et l'Empire*, by René Durand (Paris, Alcan, pp. lxxx, 606, 568).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. L. Bourrilly, *Duguesclin et le Duc d'Anjou en Provence, 1368* (*Revue Historique*, July); Dom Paul Serrant, *Seignelay et Bonrepaus*, II. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); Henri Sée, *Que Faut-il Penser de l'Oeuvre Économique de Colbert?* (*Revue Historique*, July); G. Lacour-Gayet, *L'Enfance de Talleyrand* (*Revue de Paris*, August 15); L. Gueneau, *Paris, les Industries et le Commerce de la Soie et des Soieries à la Fin de l'Ancien Régime*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne*, August); M. B. Garrett, *The Controversy over the Composition of the States General, November 6-28, 1788* (*Howard College Bulletin*, October, 1926); A. Aulard, *Les Noms Révolutionnaires des Communes* (*Revue de Paris*, October 1); G. Lenotre, *La Proscription des Girondins* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 15); Albert Mathiez, *Études sur la Terreur: les Indulgents* (*Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, September); *id.*, *Études sur la Terreur: les Citra et les Ultra* (*ibid.*, November); Gabriel Hanotaux, *Grandes Années Napoléoniennes, l'Empire de Recrutement, la Terre contre la Mer, 1806-1810* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15); *Mémoires de la Reine Hortense*, V.-VIII. (*ibid.*, September 1-November 15); Jean-Marie Carré, *Lamartine et Michelet, d'après leur Correspondance Inédite* (*ibid.*, September 1); Auguste Laugel, *L'Expulsion des Princes [1886]* (*Revue de Paris*, September 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: Cizam, *Courrier Italien* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October).

The trading companies or banking houses of the Bardi and the Peruzzi had such important relations to Edward III. that Signor A. Saporì's *Delle*

Compagnie Mercantili dei Bardi e dei Peruzzi (Florence, Olschki, 1926, pp. xvi, 308) is an important contribution to English as well as to Florentine history. It rests on materials in the London Public Record Office (Patent Rolls and Close Rolls) as well as in Florentine archives.

The Harvard University Press has published for Mr. Kenneth J. Conant a carefully made and beautifully illustrated quarto on *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela* (pp. xii, 65, 33 photographic illustrations, and 8 plates of architectural drawings). It is a scholarly treatise upon the Romanesque or twelfth-century cathedral; it reprints from Canon Ferreiro's *Historia* the twelfth-century description in the Pilgrims' Guide contained in the so-called Codex of Calixtus II.

No one has had greater influence on Catholic historiography than Professor Heinrich Finke, who has drawn much of his material from the Spanish archives. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday a volume of monographs has been issued in his honor by 31 of his students and admirers, many of whom are Spanish scholars. It bears the title *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1925, pp. xi, 517).

The Jewish Historical Society of England has published *Jews in the Canary Islands*, a calendar of Jewish cases extracted from the records of the Canariote Inquisition in the collection of the Marquess of Bute, translated from the Spanish and edited with an introduction and notes by Lucien Wolf.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Francesco Landogna, *L'Unità del Regno Italico nell' alto Medio Evo*, concl. (Nuova Rivista Storica, July-October); Luigi Ravà, *La Repubblica Bresciana* (Nuova Antologia, September 1); Paul Matter, *Les Origines du Risorgimento*, I., *Les Traditions du XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July-September); Nerio Malvezzi, *Pellegrino Rossi, Marco Minghetti, e Carlo de Mazade* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); anon., *L'Italie et l'Agonie de la Paix en 1914* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); Th. von Sosnosky, *Die Kriegsschuld Italiens* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, October); P. Kehr, *Das Papsttum und der Katalanische Prinzipat bis zur Vereinigung mit Aragon* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., 1926, I.).

GERMANY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: G. Allemang, *Courrier Allemand* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

The important collection, *Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte*, n.f., III. *Briefe und Denkwürdigkeiten*, has reached the end of vol. VI., *Korrespondenzen und Akten zur Geschichte des Kardinals Matth. Schiner*, whose second part, covering the years 1516-1527, has been published by Albert Büchi (Basel, 1925, pp. xxvii, 677).

The second volume of Louise Sommer's *Die Oesterreichischen Kameralisten in Dogmengeschichtlicher Darstellung* has been published (Vienna, Konegen, 1925, pp. xiv, 491); vol. I. appeared in 1920.

The deposed German emperor has recounted in a vivid and interesting manner the history of his first thirty years in a book which was published in Germany, England, and the United States simultaneously on November 4, the American edition bearing the title *My Early Life* (Harper).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Erwin Kleinstück, *Vom Wesen des Deutschen Beamtentums; ein Gesellschaftswissenschaftlicher und Politischer Versuch auf Geschichtlicher Grundlage* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7-8); F. Engel-Janosi, *Zur Geschichte der Wiener Kaufmannschaft von der Mitte des 15. bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, VI.); Eugen v. Gyalókey, *Die Schlacht bei Mohács, 29 August 1526* (Ungarische Jahrbücher, August); Th. Mayer, *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft vor dem Dreissigjährigen Kriege* (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung, XLI. 1, 2); V. Heydemann, *Friedrichs des Grossen Prosaische und Dichterische Schriften während des Siebenjährigen Krieges* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXIII. 3); Wilhelm Mommsen, *Bayern und die Reichsgründung* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7-8); Karl Schünemann, *Die Stellung Oesterreich-Ungarns in Bismarcks Bündnispolitik* (*ibid.*); Eugen Horváth, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage in der Ungarischen Politik* (Die Kriegsschuldfrage, October).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Deel XLVII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Historisch Genootschap of Utrecht contains a hitherto unprinted journal of the siege of Haarlem, 1572-1573, by an eye-witness, the manuscript of which was found in Copenhagen; an unprinted biography of Admiral Witte Corneliszoon de With, by his son-in-law; a group of thirteenth-century Latin documents of Zeeland, relating to the abbeys of Duins and Ter Does; a group of documents of 1664 respecting the northeast passage to China; and a body of accounts of Dirk van Kessel for services rendered to William of Orange, 1571-1574, in connection with the forwarding of correspondence. The society has also published two volumes of *Rekeningen van het Bisdom Utrecht, 1378-1573*, ed. K. Heeringa.

The Clarendon Press has published the first of two volumes of *The Jurisprudence of Holland*, translated with notes and commentary by R. W. Lee, professor of Roman-Dutch law at Oxford, from the Latin of Hugo Grotius's *Introductio*. The present volume presents the text of that famous book. The commentary will follow in vol. II.

R. Murriss has written an interesting study in the field of intellectual history on *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle vus par les Français* (Paris, Champion, 1925, pp. 294).

Professor G. Brom of Nijmegen makes an important contribution to the cultural history of the Netherlands in the nineteenth century by his two volumes on *Romantiek en Katholicisme in Nederland* (Groningen and the Hague, Wolters, 1926, pp. 430, 400). In conjunction with Professor A. Boon of Louvain he is projecting a history of the literary relations between the Netherlands and Flanders.

In a quarto volume, *Correspondance de Barthélemy-Joseph Dotrengé, 1781-1794* (Brussels, Imbreghts, 1926, pp. xix, 471), the Belgian Commission Royale d'Histoire has published texts or abstracts of 395 despatches addressed to his prince or government by Dotrengé, diplomatic agent of the Prince-Bishop of Liège at the court of Brussels. Dotrengé was an honest man of considerable abilities, a keen observer, and a man of sense; his reports and remarks, during a critical period of Belgian history, are of real value.

Lieutenant-General Baron de Wautier (1777-1872), having served successively under all the governments that ruled Belgium during his long life—those of Austria, Westphalia, the French Empire, the kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium, wrote in his green old age the memoirs of his life and military services. They are printed (pp. 116) in the *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, XC. 1.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. G. Van Dillen, *Amsterdam, Marché Mondial des Métaux Précieux au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle* (*Revue Historique*, July).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

General review: Jean Porcher, *Courrier Slave, Russie* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October).

Denmark has in preparation an extensive general history, illustrated with great care and emphasizing social history, *Det Danske Folks Historie* (Copenhagen, Chr. Erichsen). There will be eight volumes, written by expert hands, under the general editorship of Professor Aage Friis of the University, Dr. Axel Linvald, archivist of the city, and Dr. M. Mackeprang, director of the National Museum. The work will be published in fortnightly parts, seventy or eighty in number, of 48 pages each, at one krone a part. Vol. VII., presenting the history of the period 1848-1864 and some chapters relating to later years, is now in course of publication. Vol. II., for the earlier Middle Ages, by Professor Johannes Steenstrup and Jørgen Olrik, museum inspector, will come next.

The greater portion of the 1925 volume of the *Skrifter* of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences, hist.-fil. Kl. (Oslo, Dybwad), consists of an elaborate treatise by Sigurd Grieg, marked by the highest scientific methods, on the archaeological remains illustrative of early occupation—stone age, Roman iron age, early medieval and Viking periods—in the

district of Hadeland, some thirty miles north of Oslo, with excellent plans and illustrations.

Vol. XVII. of *Islandica* (Cornell University Library), prepared like its predecessors by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, is devoted to two cartographers, to wit, Bishop Guðbrandur Thorláksson of Hólar (bishop 1570-1627) and his great-grandson Bishop Thórður Thorláksson of Skálholt (bishop 1671-1697), whose cartographical work, and the relation of their maps to others maps of Iceland, are fully described, with eleven plates of facsimiles.

A Gothenburg dissertation by Sven Grauers, *Bidrag till Kännedomen om det Karolinska Enväldets Uppkomst* (Gothenburg, Elander), treats of the movements in the earlier part of the reign of Charles XI., and especially of the influences from the court of Louis XIV., which led to the establishment of a semi-absolute monarchy in Sweden.

The Communist Academy of Moscow has begun the publication of an historical journal, *Istorič Marksist*, of which the second number has come to us. Of its contents, which are entirely in Russian, the chief items are an article by V. Polonsky on Bakunin and the First International, one by I. M. Steklov on Bakunin and the Nechaev affair, and one by A. V. Chestakov on affairs in Central Asia in 1916. The Academy's address is Volkhonka 14, Moscow.

Professor Karl Stählin of Berlin has for some years been editing a useful collection of source-material on Russian social history, under the title *Quellen und Aufsätze zur Russischen Geschichte*. The sources are given in German translation. Thus far have appeared *Jacob von Stählin; ein Biographischer Beitrag zur Deutsch-Russischen Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (ed. K. Stählin); *Die Fahrt des Athanasius Nikitin über die Drei Meere, Reise eines Russischen Kaufmannes nach Ostindien 1466-1472* (ed. K. H. Meyer); *Der Briefwechsel Iwans des Schrecklichen mit dem Fürsten Kurbskij, 1564-1579* (edd. K. Stählin and K. Meyer); *Reise von Petersburg nach Moskau, 1790*, by A. N. Radishchev (ed. A. Luther); *Ueber die Sittenverderbnis in Russland*, by Prince M. Shcherbatov [period of Catharine II.] (edd. Ina Friedlander and S. Jacobsohn). The first four were published by Schraepler, Leipzig, 1920-1922, the fifth by the Newa-Verlag, Berlin, 1925. *Aus den Papieren Jacob von Stählins* is announced by the Osteuropa-Verlag, Königsberg, for the fall of 1926.

An important account of the latest years of Russian party history, by an American socialist, is *Since Lenin Died* (New York, Boni and Liveright, 1925), by Max Eastman.

Three lectures on *Poland, Old and New*, delivered at Geneva in the summer of 1925, by Professor Roman Dyboski of Cracow, have been published by the Oxford University Press.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The fifth and last volume of Driault and Lhéritier's *Histoire Diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 à nos Jours* deals with *La Grèce et la Grande Guerre, de la Révolution Turque au Traité de Lausanne, 1908-1923*, and is by Édouard Driault (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1926, pp. xvi, 568).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Boghitschewitsch, *The Serbian Society "Union or Death", alias "The Black Hand"* (*Die Kriegsschuldfrage*, September).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Dr. Stanley Lane-Poole's chronological, genealogical, and historical handbook of *The Mohdmmadan Dynasties* (London, 1895) having long been out of print, a photographic reproduction of it, without alterations, has been made, and is published by Paul Geuthner of Paris.

An interesting phase in the cultural interrelations of Europe and Asia is discussed by Count Goblet d'Alviella's *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce: des Influences Classiques dans la Civilisation de l'Inde* (Paris, Geuthner, 1926, pp. vi, 155).

In the *Rulers of India* series the Oxford University Press publishes a small volume on *Harsha*, by Professor R. Mookerji of Lucknow, the life of that seventh-century emperor being described mainly from the biography by his court poet Bāna and the memoirs of the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang (Hiouen Thsang).

Sir William Foster has revised and enlarged his book on *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe* (1614), originally issued for the Hakluyt Society in 1899, and the new edition is now published by the Oxford University Press.

A comprehensive history of *John Company*, by Sir William Foster, historiographer of the Indian Office, has just been published in London by Messrs. John Lane.

The conditions and movements culminating in the Permanent Settlement of 1793 are treated with some fulness in *Studies of the Land Revenue History of Bengal, 1769-1787* (Oxford University Press), by R. B. Ramsbotham of the Indian Educational Service.

The history of the kingdom of Siam is for the first time narrated by W. A. R. Wood, who has been a member of the British consular service in Siam for thirty years, and whose *History of Siam* (London, Fisher Unwin), running to the establishment of the present dynasty in 1781, is based on native materials.

Katsourô Hara, professor in the Imperial University of Kyoto, has written a *Histoire du Japon* for the *Bibliothèque Historique* (Paris, Payot, 1926, pp. 320).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Adm. G. A. Ballard, *The General Situation in the Indian Ocean during the Early Georgian Period* (Mariner's Mirror, October); G. M. Steiger, *China's Attempt to Absorb Christianity: the Decree of March 15, 1899* (T'Oung Pao, XXIV.).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Edgar Pröbster, *Tunisiaca* (Preussische Jahrbücher, October); J. Ladreit de Lacharrière, *La Tache de Taza et l'Action Militaire de la France au Maroc*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July–September); Fritz Hartung, *Die Marokkokrise des Jahres 1911* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7–8).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has issued vol. II. (pp. xi, 497) of *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Approaches thereto* (Bandelier documents), edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett, under the general supervision of its Department of Historical Research. This volume relates to Nueva Vizcaya (northern Mexico) in the seventeenth century. The Institution has also published the second volume of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (pp. xxx, 449), edited by Professor Bassett, extending from May 1, 1814, to the end of 1819. The Department has brought out, as a book "privately printed" (though in fact reproduced by the planograph rather than by type), vol. I., extending to the end of 1739, of the *Calendar of Documents relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley preserved in Paris Archives and Libraries*, prepared by Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey. The edition is small; copies have been sent gratuitously to the libraries in which such a manual is most likely to be of use. Vol. II., completing the work, will follow later. The Department's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* is nearly completed in manuscript; the work of photolithographic reproduction is expected to be undertaken soon.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office has transferred to the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress miscellaneous records relating to West Florida lands, 1770–1775, with petitions, warrants, and grants to officers of the army and navy, and the account books of the secretary's office. Among other recent accessions of the Division are the journal of the proceedings of the First Chamber of the Washington City Council, 1803–1804, and a body of letters to and from Joshua R. Giddings. The Division has also provided itself with photostat copies of the ledger kept by James Madison, father of the President, 1744–1760, Orange County, Va., and of the account book of Rev. Alexander Balmain, rector at Winchester in the eighteenth century, containing, besides registers of marriages, baptisms, and funerals, various letters relating to the establishment of Washington College at Chestertown, Md., and legal papers concerning the Fairfax lands.

The Twenty-second International Congress of Americanists was held at Rome in the latter part of September. The most notable historical papers seem to have been those of Professors A. Magnaghi (Palermo) on Vespucci, G. Caraci on the American travels of General Collot, and J. Cortesão (Lisbon) on the treaty of Tordesillas.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its thirty-fourth annual meeting in Philadelphia on October 23 and 24. Especial attention was given to the history of Jewish activity and influence in the American Revolution.

Professor Thomas J. Wertenbaker of Princeton has brought out through the firm of Scribner *The American People: a History*.

Mr. Bernard Parrington, professor of English in the University of Washington, will shortly bring out two volumes entitled *Democracy in American Thought* (Harcourt, Brace and Company), in which the literary, religious, political, and sociological thought expressed in American literature will be comprehensively treated.

Professor James Q. Dealey of Brown University has brought out through Ginn and Company a volume on the *Foreign Policies of the United States: their Bases and Development*.

Professors Emerson D. Fite of Vassar College and Archibald Freeman of Phillips Academy, Andover, have produced *A Book of Old Maps* (Harvard University Press), an elaborate and handsome volume reproducing 74 examples from the great libraries of America, the Vatican, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Under the care of Professor Louis C. Karpinski, of the University of Michigan, the William L. Clements Library is having photographic reproductions made of all the manuscript maps illustrative of the American Revolution which are to be found in Paris archives and libraries, some five hundred in number; many of them are important works of French engineers and artists.

William M. Clemens, genealogist, has published *American Marriage Records up to 1699* (Pompton Lakes, N. J., Biblio Company) containing records of 12,000 marriages. He proposes later to publish the marriage records of North and South Carolina, extending to 1865.

The Negro in American Life, by Jerome Dowd, is published by the Century Company.

The *Recorder* (bulletin of the American Irish Historical Society) has in the September number some account of the Irish in Argentina, a sketch, by Thomas Z. Lee, of Dr. John Richardson Young (1782-1804), American Irish chemist, and one (extracted from the *New York Evening Post*) of Hercules Mulligan (1740-1825), agent of Washington on certain occasions. There are also some lists of Irish arrivals in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore in 1811.

The Columbia University Press has brought out *America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, by Paul C. Weber.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Boston Athenaeum has issued volume III. of *The Founders: Portraits of Persons born Abroad who came to the Colonies before the Year 1701*, with biographical outlines, etc., by Charles K. Bolton.

Benjamin Franklin, the First Civilized American, is the title given by Phillips Russell to his biography of Franklin, in the preparation of which much new material is said to have been used (Brentano's).

The Columbia University Press has brought out *The Preliminaries of the American Revolution as seen in the English Press*, by Fred J. Hinkhouse.

The Harvard University Press is publishing *A British Fusilier in Revolutionary Boston*, being a transcript from the diary, January 1–April 30, 1775, of Lieut. Frederick Mackenzie of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, edited with notes and an introduction by Allen French, and casting light on conditions in Boston, and on the affairs at Lexington and Concord.

The British Navy in Adversity: a Study of the War of American Independence, is the title of a work by Captain W. M. James, R. N. (Longmans).

The Yale University Press has brought out a volume by John Hill Morgan entitled *Paintings by John Trumbull at Yale University of Historic Scenes and Personages prominent in the American Revolution*.

The Virginia State Library has made for Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Lexington, Ky., some 3500 photostat prints of the George Rogers Clark papers in the possession of the Library. It is understood that the prints will be presented by Mr. Thruston to the Kentucky Historical Society. Prints at the same time have been made for the Virginia State Library.

Burgoyne and his Officers in Cambridge, 1777–1778, by Samuel F. Batchelder, which has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Cambridge Historical Society, is primarily an examination into that phase of the sequel to the Saratoga Convention which relates to the quartering of Burgoyne and his officers in Cambridge, but makes some excursions into other aspects of the convention and its sequelae. There are numerous documents, printed in whole or in part.

The United States and France: Some Opinions on International Gratitude, selected by Dr. James Brown Scott (Oxford University Press, pp. lxxii, 175), presents the texts of the treaties of 1778 and subsequent contracts with France, Jared Sparks's article on the early diplomatic history of the United States in the *North American Review* of 1830, two

letters of George Sumner to Lamartine, from the *National Intelligencer* of 1847, and Sparks's comments upon them reprinted from the same journal.

Professor Dumas Malone's *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper* has been published by the Yale University Press.

Mr. George S. Selfridge of Boston has presented to the Naval Historical Foundation a large and valuable collection of historical materials relating chiefly to the naval services of Rear-Admirals J. O. Selfridge, sr., and J. O. Selfridge, jr., covering the years 1816-1883. The collection contains journals of cruises, letter-books, professional rate-books, data-books, station bills, letters, reports, maps, drawings, plans of ships, models, pictures, pamphlets, printed books, etc.

The Indiana Historical Society has obtained a transcription of the German narrative of Ludwig D. von Schweinitz containing his account of a trip from Bethlehem, Pa., to the interior of Indiana and return in 1831. This is to be published soon by the Society.

The Marine Research Society of Salem puts forth as its thirteenth publication the first of two volumes on *American Clipper Ships, 1833-1858*, by Dr. Octavius Howe and Frederick Matthews.

Mr. Amos A. Ettinger, whose address is Brasenose College, Oxford, is preparing a biography of Pierre Soulé, and will be grateful to any readers of this journal who will lend him manuscript or other material for the purpose, or send him information respecting such material.

The Lincoln Centennial Association of Springfield, Ill., has brought out a pamphlet entitled *Lincoln in the Year 1858: Being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln during that Year*, prepared by Paul M. Angle, in collaboration with Logan Hay and George W. Bunn, jr. The pamphlet represents the beginning of an effort to make a day-by-day record covering the whole of Lincoln's adult life. For this year, 1858, chosen because of its special significance, there are entries for 196 days; the author requests from students of Lincoln's life information that may supply entries for other days. Similar records for the years 1859 and 1860 are next to follow.

Professor James G. Randall, of the University of Illinois, is the author of a volume on *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*, which Messrs. Appleton have published.

Provided 500 subscriptions are obtained the Arthur H. Clark Company, of Cleveland, will issue *The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865* (2 vols., \$15), by Professor Fred A. Shannon of the Kansas State Agricultural College. The story of the problems of recruiting, conscription, training, arming and equipping, and feeding and supplying the Union army is of so great historical importance, and has been so little treated—nowhere we think in one systematic work

of this scope—that such a publication, known to be prepared with careful research and clear and intelligent exposition, certainly should not fail of issue in a generation lately confronted, in the World War, by problems so similar.

Campaigns of the Civil War, by Walter Geer, is a study of the important campaigns of that war from the point of view of their relation to the strategy of the World War (Brentano's).

Highways and Byways of the Civil War, by Clarence E. Macartney, is a collection of stories of the great battles of the war, illustrated with official photographs from the War Department (Philadelphia, Dorrance).

Rear-Admiral Samuel Francis Du Pont, United States Navy: a Biography, by Colonel H. A. Du Pont, is published by the National Americana Society, 44 East 23d Street, New York.

Mr. M. M. Quaife has brought out through the Yale University Press *Absalom Grimes, Confederate Mail Runner*, edited from Captain Grimes's own story.

Edward H. Cotton is the author of a *Life of Charles W. Eliot*, which Small, Maynard, and Company have published. Meanwhile Harper and Brothers have brought out a collection of President Eliot's speeches and addresses, in two volumes, with a biographical study by President William A. Neilson, of Smith College, having the title *Charles W. Eliot, the Man and his Beliefs*.

That Mr. Thomas Beer's *The Mauve Decade* (New York, Knopf), treating the artistic, political, and social history of the United States in the '90's of the last century, is witty and full of gibes, and not always fair, is no reason why the students of that period should not derive a great deal of benefit from reading his well-informed, acute, and stimulating pages.

Herbert Adams Gibbons has written a life of *John Wanamaker*, in two volumes, which Harper and Brothers have published.

Professor Charles Downer Hazen has edited a volume of *The Letters of William Roscoe Thayer*, which Houghton Mifflin Company has published.

The principal article in the June number of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society is a Record of the Labors of the Catholic Sisterhoods in the Spanish-American War, contributed by George Barton.

Secretary David F. Houston's recollections of the Wilson administration, which appeared serially in the *World's Work*, are published by Doubleday, Page, and Company in two volumes. The title is *Eight Years with Wilson's Cabinet, 1913-1920*.

About the time of publication of this number, or in the month of January, the Government Printing Office brings out for the Department

of State the volume of *Foreign Relations* for 1917, edited by Dr. Tyler Dennett, editor of publications in the Department. Of the *Supplement*, edited by Dr. Joseph V. Fuller, and containing American diplomatic correspondence concerning the World War, the volume for 1914 is all in galley-proof.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Wayside Press, Topsfield, Mass., has lately brought out a reprint (from a copy of the third edition, in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society) of *Captain Lightfoot, the Last of the New England Highwaymen: a Narrative of his Life and Adventures, with some Account of the Notorious Captain Thunderbolt*.

Maine Railroads: a History of the Development of the Maine Railroad System, by Edward E. Chase, is published in Portland by A. J. Huston.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has five volumes in an advanced state of preparation for publication: *Massachusetts Privateer Bonds of the Revolution* (Collections, vol. 77); *Winthrop Papers*, vol. II.; *Journals of the House of Representatives*, vol. VIII.; *Correspondence of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes during the Civil War*; and *Letters of Edmund Quincy, 1775-1780*. It has during the past year, or somewhat more, received important collections of the papers of Artemas Ward, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, Edward Everett, and Rear-Admiral George H. Preble.

The Boston Athenaeum announces for early publication *Echoes from the Past: Reminiscences of the Boston Athenaeum*, by Mary Jane Regan.

Vol. II., no. 3, of *Contributions* of the Lowell Historical Society contains the Journal of George Brownell, superintendent of machine shops at Lowell, on a voyage to England in 1839, in which the observations bear chiefly on industrial and social life in that country. There is also an interesting paper on Lumbering on the Merrimack River, by Nicholas W. Norcross, and a survey of Early Manufacturing in Lowell, by Edward W. Thomas.

The *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* has in the October number some correspondence of Samuel Cranston, governor of Rhode Island 1698-1727, communicated by William Jones. The letters (to and from Cranston) are of the years 1704-1724.

The Connecticut Historical Society received some thirty years ago, as a gift from the family of the late John Cotton Smith, his manuscript papers and correspondence, some 1500 pieces in all. His granddaughter, the late Helen E. Smith, has recently presented to this Society about 250 additional letters of Mr. Smith. This correspondence is particularly

valuable as it covers the full period of the War of 1812, Mr. Smith having been governor of Connecticut from 1812 to 1817. The papers are arranged and available to students of the history of that time.

Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer of the American Historical Association from its foundation in 1884 until the end of the year 1917, has prepared with great care *A History of Woodstock, Connecticut*, which the Plimpton Press of Norwood, Mass., has issued for subscribers and others in a limited edition of 450 copies. The book (pp. 728) has an introduction by the late Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and has chapters covering the general history of the town, founded in 1688, and various aspects of its social history—churches, libraries, farming, manufactures, slavery, sports, and pageants.

Westport, Connecticut: the Making of a Yankee Township, by Edward C. Birge, is from the press of the Writers Publishing Company.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the July number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association Charles Maar discourses upon the Origin of the Classical Place Names of Central New York, while Jeannette B. Sherwood relates the story of the Military Tract wherein these classical names were so abundantly sprinkled. There is also an appreciative biographical sketch of John Jay, by the hand of Charles B. Wheeler.

The September and October *Bulletins* of the New York Public Library contain an interesting tercentenary exhibit of materials for the history of New Netherland, arranged and described by Victor H. Paltsits.

The Story of New Amsterdam, by William R. Shepherd, is written primarily to commemorate the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Dutch trading-post which has become the city of New York (New York, Knopf).

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press vol. XXIX. of its series of *Publications*. The leading feature of the volume will be a review of the War of 1812 on the Niagara frontier by Louis L. Babcock.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society for October includes a continuation of the contributions of E. Alfred Jones on the Loyalists of New Jersey in the Revolution; an article on John Fenwick, the Founder of Salem, by Dr. Arthur Adams; one on the Aborigines of Hunterdon County, by Professor Charles A. Philhower; and the conclusion of William H. Richardson's papers on the Argonauts of Jersey City.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* includes the address of Hon. Albert J. Beveridge on the Sources of the Declaration of Independence, delivered in Philadelphia in June last; an article by Edward Robbins on Some Philadelphia Men of Letters; and one by Charles R. Barker on the Stony Part of Schuylkill.

A History of the Tohickon Union Church, 1745-1854, by Rev. William J. Hinke, of Auburn Theological Seminary, is offered by the author (156 North Street, Auburn, N. Y.). The church is of Bedminster Township, Bucks County, Pa., and the volume includes the records of the Reformed Congregation, 1745-1869, and of the Lutheran Congregation, 1749-1840.

The *Proceedings and Collections* of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the years 1923-1924 includes a monograph, *Aboriginal Rock Shelters and other Archaeological Notes of Wyoming Valley and Vicinity*, by Max Schrabisch, and the *Diary of Obadiah Gore in the Sullivan Expedition, 1779*, with an introduction by Asa E. Martin.

Among the contents of the October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are an article by Professor Alfred P. James on the Study of History in the University of Pittsburgh, and a continuation of Percy B. Caley's study of Child Life in Colonial Western Pennsylvania.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* the letters of Molly and Hetty Tilghman are continued, as are also the extracts from the account and letter-books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis. Louis D. Scisco contributes some Colonial Records of Charles County, and there are some notes, by the late Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, on the beginnings of that county. The number also contains a letter from Benedict Calvert to the fifth Lord Baltimore, 1746, and three letters to Dr. Elijah Davis, two from Stephen Archer, member of Congress, 1811, 1814, and one from Governor Edward Lloyd, 1814.

Vol. 28 of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society (pp. 284) has an interesting paper by Dr. Charles O. Paullin on Alexandria County in 1861, and one by James F. Duhamel on Tiber Creek, whose name, which Thomas Moore ridiculed as a fine example of Americans' boastfulness about their infant (and therefore contemptible) capital, really goes back to the seventeenth century. Frank J. Metcalf presents a not very impressive History of Sacred Music in the District of Columbia, and there are biographical sketches of two mayors of Washington and a conspicuous Washington lawyer, the late J. J. Darlington.

The October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains a brief article by David I. Bushnell, jr., on the Indian Inhabitants of the Valley of Virginia, continuations of the Diary of Bishop Early, the Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704, the Kennon Letters, etc.

In the October number of *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* are Some Personal Memories of General Robert E. Lee, contributed by W. W. Scott, and an article on Slave Labor in the Virginia Iron Industry, by Kathleen Bruce, professor in William and Mary

College. Among the other contents are some letters of John Clayton, John Bartram, Peter Collinson, William Byrd, and Isham Randolph, reprinted from William Darlington's *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall* (1849), some letters from the Jefferson Papers (one of Jefferson, one of Dr. James McClurg, and one of George Wythe), and a letter from Archibald Stuart to William Wirt, 1816.

In the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Charles A. Hoppin discusses the question of the house in which George Washington was born, producing much documentary evidence that it can not have resembled the familiar picture so often copied from Lossing. Mr. Hoppin makes various other contributions respecting the Washingtons, and furnishes one from T. Pape, F. S. A., concerning Amphilis Twigden, the mother of the emigrant Washingtons.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has within the past two years secured extensive collections from the archives of England and Spain that are of more than local interest. From England it has 4491 pages of transcripts and 1133 of photostats of material relating to American Loyalists; from Spain some 14,000 pages, mostly of photostats from the Archivo General de Indias at Simancas, and mostly of the eighteenth century.

The October number of the *North Carolina Historical Review* contains an article by Dr. Lyon G. Tyler on the Preservation of Virginia History; one by W. Neil Franklin on Agriculture in Colonial North Carolina; and one by Isaac S. Harrell on North Carolina Loyalists. In the section devoted to Eighteenth-Century Tracts is reprinted the pamphlet of "Scotus Americanus", *Informations concerning the Province of North Carolina* (Glasgow, 1773).

The Florida State Historical Society is about to issue Professor James O. Knauss's volume on *Florida Territorial Journalism*, containing bibliographical lists of existing files, complete or incomplete, of Florida newspapers of the period indicated. Professor Herbert I. Priestley's translation and edition of Luna y Arellano is also about to appear. Other volumes in preparation are one of documents exhibiting Spanish trade policy in Florida, by Professor A. P. Whitaker; a volume of papers of the firm of Panton, Leslie, and Company, edited by Miss Elizabeth H. West; and a bibliography of Florida, by Dr. J. A. Robertson. Through the generosity of Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., the society has received from the Archives of the Indies in Seville some 75,000 photostat sheets of Florida documents.

In the October number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is found the address of John C. McGeehee before the Southern Rights Association of Madison County, June 7, 1851. McGeehee's address ten years later before the convention which passed the ordinance of secession, of which he was president, appeared in the April number of the *Quarterly*. Other

articles in this number are: John Quincy Adams and Florida, by Frederick Cubberly; Francis Eppes (1801-1881), Pioneer of Florida, by Mrs. Nicholas W. Eppes; and the Second Spanish-American War (Jackson's raid in 1818), by A. H. Phinney.

Among the contents of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for July, 1925, are: an article by John S. Kendall on Piracy in the Gulf of Mexico, 1816-1823; an account of the Trial of Pablo Rocheblave before Governor Unzaga, 1771, summarized from the original record at the Cabildo, by Laura L. Porteous; one of a Judicial Auction Sale in Louisiana, 1739, by Henry P. Dart, accompanied by a French text, with translation; an article on the Concession at Natchez, principally a report of 1731 or 1732 giving the history of the founding of the colony and its destruction by the Natchez Indians (French text, with translation); a paper by André Lafargue on Laussat's brief rule; and translations of some wills of the French colonial period in Louisiana.

WESTERN STATES

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* opens with an article by James B. Hedges, of Clark University, on the Colonization Work of the Northern Pacific Railroad. This is followed by a trenchant article by Donald L. McMurry, of Lafayette College, on the Bureau of Pensions during the Administration of President Harrison; an account by A. P. Whitaker of the Muscle Shoals Speculation of 1783-1789; and one by Hallie Farmer of the Railroads and Frontier Populism.

A history of steamboating on the Mississippi and its tributaries, with some account of the people and the times, by Herbert and Edward Quick, has been published by Holt, with the title *Mississippi Steamboatin'*.

The first seventy pages of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, XIV. 3, are occupied by a paper on "Les Premières Explorations en Louisiane" (chiefly La Salle's) by M. Émile Lauvrière, written apparently without any knowledge of any of the American work on the subject printed since 1900.

The Indiana Historical Bureau is preparing for publication, in connection with the 150th anniversary of George Rogers Clark's capture of Vincennes, the parish record of Vincennes from the first notes, which have been preserved through the incumbency of Father Gibault. The Bureau, co-operating with the Historical Society, began archaeological work last summer in the excavation of a prehistoric mound in Sullivan County. The results of this work are to be published as an extra number of the *Indiana History Bulletin*. Vol. VIII., no. 3 (pp. 36), of the *Publications* of the society is an Account of the Environment of Abraham Lincoln in Indiana, by John E. Iglehart.

Articles in the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: Development of the Common Schools of Indiana, by Otho J. New-

man; the Lanier Family and Home, by Blanche G. Garber; Some Interesting Crawfordsville People and their Homes, by Julia L. Knox; and Indiana Newspapers, 1829-1860, by James H. Butler.

An Indiana Catholic Historical Society was organized in October, to promote interest in the Catholic history of Indiana by original research and writing.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1925 includes, among other things, the following papers: the Imperial Indian Department and the Occupation of the Great West, 1758-1766, by A. T. Volwiler; the Last Years of the Whig Party in Illinois, 1847-1856, by Ameda R. King; the Convergence of Lincoln and Douglas, by William O. Lynch; the Diary of the Overland Trail, 1849, and Letters, 1849-1850, of Captain David De Wolf, contributed, with an introduction and notes, by Edwin E. Cox, grandson of Captain De Wolf; and the Expansion of Higher Education in Illinois from 1865 to 1925 (annual address), by Dr. Kendric C. Babcock.

In the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* Rev. Henry S. Spalding continues his studies in the Life of James Marquette, J. J. Ryan has a paper on the Franciscan Missions of California, and Rev. John Rothensteiner presents some Facts concerning Chicago's First Four Bishops, while Rev. Paul J. Foik, using the title In the Clutches of the Barbary Corsairs, tells the story of conditions in the Mediterranean in the period 1784-1789, with large extracts from documentary materials.

Luther E. Robinson and Irving Moore have produced a *History of Illinois* which the American Book Company has published.

Mr. R. C. Ballard Thruston, of Louisville, has offered to the Filson Club of that city his library and collections, and a fund of \$50,000, if before Jan. 1, 1928, the Club can secure a home of its own with at least one fire-proof room. No one who has appreciated the value of the publications of the Filson Club can fail to wish that it may succeed in meeting the conditions of the offer. The Filson Club and the University of Louisville have begun, with a number for October, 1926, the issue of a periodical which bears the name of *The History Quarterly*, without further designation, in the title, of its *locus* or origin. It will contain papers read before the Filson Club and historical studies prepared by members of the university faculty, with other material. Most of the contributions are expected to relate to the history of the Ohio Valley, Kentucky, and the ante-bellum South. In this first number is a brief paper on the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, by R. C. Ballard Thruston, one on Revolutionary Analogies (American, French, and Russian), by Louis R. Gottschalk, and one on Kentucky in 1774, by R. S. Cotterill.

No. 34 of the Filson Club *Publications* is *Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds* (Louisville, Standard Printing Company), by Dr. Willard R. Jillson. The volume is described on the title-page as "a complete

index to all of the earliest land entries, military warrants, deeds, and wills of the Commonwealth of Kentucky", and is logically a companion volume to the author's *Kentucky Land Grants*, issued in 1925 (Filson Club *Publications*, no. 33). In 1780 the Kentucky region was organized into three counties; accordingly it is the entries for these three counties, Lincoln (1779-1787), Fayette (1782-1794), and Jefferson (1779-1785), that constitute the primary body of early land records. Other important records here indexed are military warrants (1782-1793), military entries (1784-1797), and deeds having their origin in the court of appeals, through wills, powers of attorney, etc. These are brought down approximately to 1850.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society is publishing a series called "Gleanings from State Archives", thus making serviceable much material of value for the early history of the state. In the May number the series consists of depositions (1796-1822) respecting lands of non-residents and of infant heirs of deceased tax-payers; in the September number are letters, etc. (1796-1811), pertaining chiefly to lands and taxes. The *Register* also continues the publication of early tax-lists, the May number containing those of Franklin County, 1795, the September number those of Christian County for 1799 and 1800. There is also in the September number the beginning of an index (A to G) of the marriage records of the latter county, 1797-1825. Of more general interest are two articles, Carter Henry Harrison, Kentuckian, by John W. Townsend, and the Louisville and Nashville Turnpike, by S. G. Boyd (May), and a group of letters from General James Wilkinson to Dr. Hugh Shiell, 1784-1791 (September).

Ohio County, Kentucky, in the Olden Days: a Series of Old Newspaper Sketches of Fragmentary History, by Harrison D. Taylor, prepared for publication in book form by his granddaughter, Mary Taylor Logan, is from the press of John P. Morton and Company, Louisville. Harrison D. Taylor (1802-1889) came to Ohio County in his infancy and lived there, a lawyer, until his death. In 1857 he published a series of sketches in the *Owensboro Shield*, and twenty years later republished them, with additions, in the *Hartford Herald*. Selections from these sketches constitute the principal part of the present volume. There is, in addition, an appendix of materials relating to Ohio County, including the marriage records from 1799 to 1840, and a biographical sketch of Taylor himself.

Lieut. Henry Timberlake's *Memoirs* (London, 1765), chiefly concerning the Cherokees, is soon to be issued by the Watauga Press of Johnson City, Tenn., in a reprint, with introduction and exhaustive annotations by Judge Samuel C. Williams.

Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee* has been reprinted in Chattanooga (Judge David Campbell Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution), with the addition of an index.

The *Tennessee Historical Magazine* for April, 1925, contains an article by Charles L. Lewis on Robert Thomas Quarles and the Archives of Tennessee; one by Gabriel H. Golden on Governor William Carroll and his Administration (1821-1827, 1829-1835); the second installment of Dr. Erik M. Eriksson's study of Official Newspaper Organs and Jackson's Re-election, 1832; the Marriage Records of Washington County, 1805-1820; and three political "circular letters", one of William C. C. Claiborne (1799), one of Samuel Houston (1825), and one of John Bell (1826).

In the October number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are two biographical articles, one of Miss Ruth Hoppin, Educator, by Sue I. Silliman, and one of Governor John T. Rich, by Joseph B. Moore; an account of the Coalition Legislature of 1891, by Arthur S. White; an article by William Stocking entitled Fifty Years of Industrial Progress in Detroit; one by George W. Brown on the First St. Lawrence Deepening Scheme; a further contribution of Henry A. Haigh concerning the Ford Historical Collections; and other continuations.

The Michigan Historical Commission has brought out *The Development of State Control of Public Instruction in Michigan*, by George L. Jackson, professor in the University of Michigan. After surveying briefly educational conditions and methods in the territory and setting forth succinctly the powers and duties of the first superintendent of public instruction, the author traces the centralizing development of the state department of education, in its administrative, supervisory, and judicial functions.

The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* of September contains a biography, by M. M. Quaife, of John Whistler, an early comer to Detroit and ancestor of the famous artist. In the November number Mr. Quaife describes Detroit's first election.

The contents of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September issue, include Wisconsin at the Centennial, by Louise P. Kellogg; Early Day Architects in Milwaukee, by Alexander C. Guth; the Shopiere Shrine, being an account of Governor Louis Harvey, by May L. Bauchle; the Invention of the Twine Binder, by F. B. Swingle; and the Letters of the Rt. Rev. John Martin Henni and the Rev. Anthony Urbanek, written from Milwaukee, 1845-1852.

Minnesota History has in the September number an article by Frank E. Balmer on the Farmer and Minnesota History; one by Mildred Hartough on Transportation in the Development of the Twin Cities; one by William E. Culkin entitled Getting a County Historical Society Started; an account, by several hands, of the Columbia River Historical Expedition of last summer; one of the State Historical Convention at Mankato; and, under the heading "Minnesota as seen by Travellers", are found some letters of Bishop Jackson Kemper in 1843.

The Minnesota Historical Society has issued the third volume of Professor W. W. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*.

The pages of the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* are chiefly occupied by a paper of Kirk H. Porter entitled Making a Campaign: an Account of the Good Roads Campaign in Johnson County, Iowa.

In the October number of the *Annals of Iowa* Professor F. I. Herriott's papers on James W. Grimes versus the Southrons are continued, as is also the Civil War Diary of Benjamin F. Pearson.

In the October number of the *Palimpsest* Louis Pelzer has an article on Seward and Douglas in Iowa, and J. A. Swisher one on the Campaign of 1883. The November number contains a group of extracts from George Catlin's *North American Indians*, descriptive of the country in the 'thirties, recounting his experiences among the Indians, and relating episodes of his travels.

The State Historical Society has issued three additional volumes (VII., VIII., and IX.) of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of the State of Missouri*. These volumes, which are compiled and edited by Sarah Guitar and Floyd C. Shoemaker, cover the administrations of Governors Marmaduke, Morehouse, Francis, Stone, Stephens, Dockery, and Folk, which extended over the period from 1885 to 1909. There are, as hitherto, biographical sketches of the governors, written by hands other than those of the editors.

Among the articles in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: Some Historic Facts about Canton, by James T. Lloyd; the Location of the Permanent Seat of Government, by Perry S. Rader; Missouri Valley Settlement, St. Louis to Independence, by Raymond D. Thomas; and a continuation of Thomas S. Barclay's studies of the Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri.

A dissertation entitled *Four Decades of Catholicism in Texas*, presented to the Catholic University of America by Sister Mary Angela Fitzmorris, treats in about a hundred pages the history of the Catholic Church in Texas from 1820 to the beginning of the Civil War.

The Arthur H. Clark Company has brought out a volume by Le Roy Hafen entitled *The Overland Mail, 1849-1869: Promoter of Settlement, Precursor of Railroads*.

Doane Robinson, for many years secretary of the state historical society, is the author of *A Brief History of South Dakota* (American Book Company).

Memories of the Old Emigrant Days in Kansas, 1862-1865 (London, Blackwood), is a vivacious chronicle by Mrs. Adela E. R. Orpen.

Will E. Stoke is the author of a work entitled *Episodes of Early Days in Central and Western Kansas*, of which vol. I. has been issued (Great Bend, Kan., the author).

The Nebraska Historical Society has received from Mrs. Bryan, for the William Jennings Bryan collection which it is making, several boxes of newspaper clippings, cartoons, and photographs depicting Mr. Bryan's political life in Nebraska, his world-tour, and his dry campaign in Canada during the war. A collection of books, pamphlets, photographs, and over 40,000 manuscript pages of personal interviews bearing on the Plains Indians, made by Judge E. S. Ricker, long a student of the subject and for ten years archive clerk in the Indian Bureau, has been given to the society by his heirs.

Among the contents of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, September issue, are some notes concerning the early operations of the Methodist Episcopal Church South in the Indian Territory, contributed by J. Y. Bryce; an address by Colonel William Penn Adair in 1878, relating to conditions in the territory at that time; an account, by W. B. Morrison, of Fort McCulloch; and other brief articles.

The articles in the August number of the *Colorado Magazine* are all retrospective of Colorado's half-century of statehood. Henry J. Hersey discusses the Colorado Constitution, its Historical Antecedents and Formation; former Governor Oliver H. Shoup discourses upon the Fifty Years of Colorado's Development; Albert B. Sanford presents a biographical sketch of John L. Routt, First State Governor of Colorado; Theodore F. Van Wagenen offers some Views on the Admission of Colorado in 1876; Edward D. Foster writes concerning what he calls the Miracle of a Half-Century, treating chiefly of the economic development of the state; and L. R. Hafen gives a history of the Steps to Statehood. In the October number Henry A. Dubbs discourses upon the Unfolding of Law in the Mountain Region; A. J. Fynn discusses the Custer Battle; and J. A. Jeancon writes on an archaeological subject, a Rectangular Ceremonial Room.

The October number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* contains, besides continuations, an article by F. T. Cheetham on Kit Carson; one by Fred S. Perrine on Uncle Sam's Camel Corps; and one by F. W. Hodge on the Six Cities of Cibola.

A striking and significant episode of New Mexico history, in the years immediately following 1867, is recounted by Walter N. Burns in *Billy the Kid: a History of Fighting in Lincoln County* (Garden City, Doubleday, Page).

Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest, by Cleve Hallenbeck, is intended for the general reader (Doubleday).

Charles Scribner's Sons have published a *History of the State of Idaho*, by Cornelius J. Brosnan.

The articles in the October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* are chiefly devoted to the subject of libraries in the Northwest, beginning with a brief introductory discourse by Professor Edmond S.

Meany. The subject of Early Library Development in Washington is treated by Charles W. Smith; some Early Libraries of Oregon are described by Mirpah G. Blair; and the Library Movement in British Columbia by J. Forsyth. There is also an Early Account (from Boston newspapers) of the Loss of the *Boston* in 1803, contributed, with an introduction, by Judge F. W. Howay. In the section of Documents is the report of W. B. Gosnell, special Indian agent, Dec. 31, 1856, respecting Indian hostilities in Washington Territory.

In the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* F. G. Young writes somewhat briefly but enthusiastically of the Columbia River Historical Expedition of last summer, the Achievement and its Promise. Two addresses delivered before the expedition are found in the *Quarterly*, the one being the presidential address of Frederick V. Holman, the Lewis and Clark Expedition at Fort Clatsop, the other an address of T. C. Elliott at the dedication of a monument at Bonner's Ferry, Idaho, "In the Land of the Kootenai". This number contains also the fourth of Lewis A. McArthur's studies of Oregon Geographic Names.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, has recently completed his work on an edition in English, in four volumes, of Father Francisco Palou's *Noticias de California*.

The Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii has published, in a pamphlet of 56 pages, a detailed account of the *Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence* preserved in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives in the Department of State at Washington, accompanied by full texts of several interesting documents, selected by Dr. Ralph S. Kuykendall, executive secretary of the commission. A brief illustrated *History of Hawaii*, prepared by him under the direction of the commission, is published by Macmillan. The commission is now at work upon a history of Hawaii's part in the World War, and expects to publish it within the next twelve months.

CANADA

In the *Canadian Historical Review* for September the editor, Professor W. S. Wallace, in a brief article entitled Some Vices of Clio, argues forcibly for more attractive writing of history; Justice Riddell brings forward a remonstrance against "taxation without representation", presented in 1795, when Detroit was still in British hands, by the grand jury of that district; Miss Alison Ewart and Miss Julia Jarvis set forth the Personnel of the "Family Compact", presenting lists of members of the executive and legislative councils of Upper Canada from 1791 to 1841. The last letter of Capt. James Cook, Oct. 30, 1778, is printed for the first time.

The September *Bulletin* of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, is a short monograph on the Bison and the Fur Trade, by R. O. Merriman.

Vol. XXIII. of the *Papers and Records* of the Ontario Historical Society (Toronto, pp. 562) contains, among many papers interesting to citizens of Ontario, several which are also of interest to students of the relations between Upper Canada and the United States. Among these are Brigadier-General Cruikshank's papers on Ship-building and Navigation on Lake Ontario, to 1816, on the Government of Upper Canada and Robert Gourlay, active in agitation against the land policy of the government in 1816-1818, and on the Insurrection in the Short Hills in 1838; Ernest Green's paper on the Niagara Portage Road; and those of Justice Riddell on the Prerogative Court in Upper Canada, and on its First Attorney General, John White. There is also a diary of a voyage from London to Upper Canada in 1833 in the form of letters by two young ladies, sisters of the late Sir Samuel Steele. The volume has excellent illustrations.

The whole of the August number of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* is devoted to the history of Ottawa, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of its foundation as Bytown.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima is about to publish a bibliography of selected portions of the books in the Ibero-American Library which he has presented to the Catholic University of America.

The University of North Carolina Press brings out, in a substantial volume of 169 pages, *Hispanic-American History: a Syllabus*, by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., with many useful references.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has resolved to continue the work done by Dr. William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of Latin-American Nations*, by adding to his three volumes a further publication covering the additional years 1831-1860.

The extraordinary rights of patronage which the Spanish monarchs claimed with regard to the Church in the New World created a special crisis when by reason of revolutions independent republican governments took the place of the monarchy in other matters. An important portion of the history of this crisis is studied by Father Pedro Leturia, S.J., in *El Ocaso del Patronato Real en la América Española: la Acción Diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII., 1820-1823, á la Luz del Archivo Vaticano* (Madrid, Razon y Fe, 1925, pp. xii, 320). Father Leturia has also a long article (100 pp.) on "Die Amerika-Encyclika Leos XII. vom 24. September 1824" in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, t. XLVI.

No. 19 of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*, edited by Señor Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, has a body of documents on *El Congreso de Panamá* of 1826 and subsequent plans of Hispanic-American union, the documents being such as especially illustrate the relation of Mexico to the various schemes.

The Cuban Academia de la Historia publishes in a handsome quarto of 208 pages the *Discursos leídos en la Recepción Pública del Sr. Carlos M. Trelles y Govín*, under which title the reader will find an elaborate biography of José Álvarez de Toledo, who had a part, as Professor Cox has shown, in the Texan and Mexican troubles in 1812-1816, but is here treated as a precursor of Cuban independence. Señor Trelles supports his monograph with many documents.

Professor Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, is about to publish a book entitled *A History of the Cuban Republic: a Study in the History of Hispanic-American Politics*.

R. B. Cunninghame Graham adds to his previous volumes on the conquest of South America *Pedro de Valdivia: Conqueror of Chile* (London), including besides his narrative a series of letters from Valdivia to Charles V.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. M. Holzman, *Lawlessness as the American Tradition* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); A. S. Aiton, *Early American Price-Fixing Legislation* (Michigan Law Review, November); Albert Mathiez, *Lafayette et le Commerce Franco-Américain à la Veille de la Révolution* (Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française, September); Marie G. Kimball, *William Short, Jefferson's only "Son"* (North American Review, September-October-November); G. J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Emergence of the Missouri Valley into History* (Thought, September); R. M. McElroy, *British-American Diplomacy* (Quarterly Review, October); W. C. Saylor, *The Effect of the Cotton-Gin upon the Politics of the United States from 1787 to 1857* [prize essay] (Mechanical Engineering, December); S. F. Bemis, *The Background of Washington's Foreign Policy* (Yale Review, January); A. H. Cole, *Agricultural Crises, a Neglected Chapter in American Economic History* (American Economic Review, December); E. P. Hohman, *Wages, Risk, and Profits in the Whaling Industry* (*ibid.*); W. J. Carnathan, *The Proposal to Reopen the African Slave Trade in the South, 1854-1860* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Caroline E. Vose, *Jefferson Davis in New England* (Virginia Quarterly Review, October); Louis A. Warren, *Lincoln's Honorable Parentage* (Century Magazine, September); J. H. Park, *Lincoln and Contemporary English Periodicals* (Dalhousie Review, October); Richard Fester, *Verantwortlichkeiten, VIII. Wilson und House* (Deutsche Rundschau, September); F. W. v. Oertzen, *Die Amerikanische Erdölpolitik nach dem Kriege* (Archiv für Politik und Geschichte, IV. 7-8); Marjorie McKenzie, *Canadian History in the French-Canadian Novel* (Queen's Quarterly, July-August-September); Father Albert David, *Les Missionnaires du Saint-Esprit à Québec et en Acadie au XVII^e Siècle* (Nova Francia, I. 1-5); E. L. Harvey, *New Brunswick a Century Ago* (Dalhousie Review, October); R. C. Watt, *The Political Prisoners in Upper Canada, 1837-1838* (English

Historical Review, October); Byron Cummings, *Cuicuilco and the Archaic Culture of Mexico* (Scientific Monthly, October); Gregory Mason, *The Shrines of a Vanished Race* (World's Work, November); La Roncière Le Noury, *Lettres sur la Retraite du Mexique, 1867* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); J. Rennard, *Le P. Labat, O. P., aux Antilles* (Revue d'Histoire des Missions, June 1); A. Guimaraes, *Bolívar and Brazil* (Inter-America, June); A. Cruchaga Ossa, *Don Joaquin Campino, First Chilean Minister to the United States* (Pan-American Magazine, May); *id.*, *Impressions of the First Chilean Minister in Washington* [Don Joaquin Campino] (*ibid.*, September-October); E. Ravignani, *La Constitución de 1819*, II. (Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, April-June).

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